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ART. XXI.—*Account of a rare, if not unique, manuscript History of the Seljûqs contained in the Schefer Collection lately acquired by the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and now described by EDWARD G. BROWNE, M.A., M.R.A.S.*

IN the pages of this Journal I have repeatedly had occasion to insist, especially in my notice of M. Blochet's most useful Catalogue (*J.R.A.S.* for 1901, pp. 331-3), on the unique value of the magnificent collection of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish MSS. formed by the late M. Charles Schefer, and now belonging to the Bibliothèque Nationale. During a fortnight spent in Paris in the Easter vacation of 1901, I was able to examine more closely some of the most interesting MSS. comprised in this collection, and in particular the MS. which forms the subject of this notice, which is remarkable alike for its age (it is dated the beginning of Ramadân, A.H. 635 = April, A.D. 1238); its fine, clear, careful script; the interest and authority of its contents; and the fact that it is, so far as I have been able to ascertain, unique.

The importance of a careful study of the original materials for the history of the Seljûq period, so far as these are still extant and accessible, has been so admirably expressed by Houtsma in the preface (pp. vi-viii) to the first of the three texts (the *History of the Seljûqs of Kirmân*, by Muḥammad Ibrâhîm) which he published in his *Recueil de Textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoudes*, that I need say nothing more on this head, save that in citing the Arabic text of the *Histoire des Seldjoudes de l'Iraq par al-Bondârt d'après Imâd ad-dîn al-Kâtib al-Isfahâni* (Leyden, 1889), which forms the second volume of this *Recueil*, and to which I shall have frequent occasion to refer in the course of the following pages, I shall, for brevity's sake, speak of it simply as "*Bundârt*."

The publication of texts of the most important original historical works is, without doubt, as Houtsma insists (loc. cit., p. vi), what is most required for the proper elucidation of Persian history, for at present the actual material of study is deficient; but in the meanwhile much, I think, may be done to clear the ground, and to determine what most deserves publication, by careful, though greatly condensed, abstracts of rare manuscript histories which have not yet attracted the general attention of Orientalists. Months are required to copy and collate the text of a large manuscript, and years may then pass ere it finally appears in type, even when the difficulty of finding a publisher for books necessarily so unremunerative has been overcome; but a pretty full abstract of its contents may, with diligence, be made in two or three weeks, and published in some fifty or sixty pages of our Journal. Thus at least are the still unexplored realms of Eastern literature outlined for our successors, as were regions now explored surveyed for us by the pioneers of a past generation in those admirable *Notices et Extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, which must ever stand as our models for work of this class.

To come now to our manuscript, a large volume of 179 leaves, formerly No. 11 of M. Schefer's collection, now No. 1,314 of the *Supplément persan* of the Bibliothèque Nationale. Its full title runs as follows:—

اعلام الملوك المسمى براحة الصدور وآية السرور لنجم الدين ابى
بكر محمد بن على بن سليمان بن محمد بن احمد بن الحسين بن
همة الراوندى . . .

"The Notification of Kings (*I'lámu'l-Mulúk*), entitled 'the Refreshment of Hearts' Sadness and Signal of Gladness' (*Ráhatu's-Sudúr wa Áyatu's-Surúr*), by Najmu'd-Dín Abú Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Alí b. Sulaymán b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Himmat(?) ar-Ráwandí." It was composed (f. 27^b) in A.H. 599 (= A.D. 1202-3), and dedicated to Abu'l-Fath Kay-Khusraw b. Qilij Arslán b. Mas'úd

b. Qilij Arslán b. Sulaymán b. Ghází b. Qutalmish (قُتْلُمِش), so printed on f. 41^b).¹ In brief, it may be described as a history of the Seljúqs from the beginning of the dynasty to the author's own time (A.H. 418-594 = A.D. 1027-1197). It therefore deals at first-hand (for hardly anywhere does the author appear to derive his information from books, but always from state archives or oral tradition) with 170 years of one of the most important periods of Persian history. Its extent, according to my computation, is something over 100,000 words; and it includes at the end (ff. 157^a-179^a) sundry rather irrelevant, but interesting sections on the Courtier's Accomplishments (آدابِ ندمت), including the different forms of chess; the ethics of wine-drinking; various sports, notably riding and archery; the principles of writing, calligraphy, and the keeping of state accounts, and other like matters.

ABSTRACT.

The usual doxology opens on f. 1b with a Persian *mathnawi* poem of fourteen couplets beginning:—

سباس از جهان آفرین کردگار خذاوند نیشان و فصل بهار

and continues in mixed prose and verse, the latter including nine couplets of a *mathnawi* poem beginning:—

کردم آغاز این بنام خدای

and six couplets of another beginning:—

بی نیاز او و اوست جوینده حاجت از ما و اوست گوینده

This doxology is followed (f. 3^a) by a section in praise of the Prophet, entitled:—

مدح انبیا و ستایش پیغمبر ما محمد مصطفی صلعم

¹ Or Kay-Khusraw I, one of the Seljúqs of Rúm. See Lane's *Mohammadan Dynasties*, p. 155, and the genealogical table facing p. 152. Lane's statement of the duration of his reign (A.H. 588-597) hardly agrees with the date here given. I follow the MS. throughout, but probably (with Lane) we should read "Sulaymán b. [Ghází] Qutalmish (or 'Qutlumish')," taking Ghází merely as a title.

Mention is here made of the "124,000 'Points' (*nugta*) of Prophethood,"¹ and the section includes seven couplets of a *qasida* or *qiṭ'a* ending:—

بالی مدیح تو سخن نیست ' کس زخمه نساخت برتر از یم

Another of eight couplets beginning:—

مژده که شد مقام من سخن سرای مصطفی

مژده که دید چشم من منبر و جای مصطفی

and a *mathnawī* of seven couplets beginning:—

طاوس ملائکه مریدت

Next comes (f. 4^b) a section in praise of the orthodox Caliphs, 'Companions,' and Doctors of Islām, from which (as from many subsequent passages) it is abundantly proved that the author was a strong Sunnī. 'Umar's praise is celebrated in a poem beginning:—

میر عمر کاندرا سلام اول او منبر نهاد

ممت بی حد و عد بر دین بیغمبر نهاد

¹ In a tradition of Abū Dhar cited in the *Ta'rikh-i-Guzida* (composed in A.H. 730 = A.D. 1330) by Hamdu'llāh Mustawfī of Qazwīn) we find it stated that the total number of Prophets was 124,000, of whom 313 were 'Apostles' (رُسل), as opposed to mere 'Preachers' or 'Warners' (مُذَرِّع). The tradition runs as follows in one of the MSS. (Dd. 3. 23) in the Cambridge University Library (f. 8^a):—

اکابر مؤرخان آورده اند که ابو ذر غفاری رضی الله عنه از حضرت رسالت صلعم روایه کرد حدیث قال سألت رسول الله صلعم كم عدد الانبياء قال مائة الف و اربعة وعشرون الفا قال فقلت يا رسول الله فكم الرسل منهم قال ثلثمائة و ثلثة عشرة . .

The word 'Point' (*nugta*) in the passage to which this note refers appears to be used in the sense in which it is employed by the Bábís, as meaning 'Manifestation,' 'Apparition.'

In praising 'Uthmán occasion is taken by the author to revile the '*Rāfiḍis*' (روافض), or Shí'ites, before proceeding to the laudation of 'Alī. These panegyrics on the Four Orthodox Caliphs are succeeded by encomiums on the following leading lights of Islām: Abú Ḥanífa, Sháfi'í, the Qádí Abú Yúsuf, Muḥammad Ḥasan ash-Shaybání, Sufyán ath-Thawrí, Málík and Aḥmad b. Hanbal, 'Abdu'lláh b. Mas'úd, 'Alqama, an-Nakha'í, al-Ḥammád, and Muḥammad b. Idrís, especially the first of these, concerning whom several anecdotes are related. Incidentally (f. 8^a) the author makes mention of his maternal grandfather, Muḥammad b. 'Alí b. Aḥmad ar-Ráwandí, styled by him—

امام سعيد و مرحوم شهيد مولانا الامام ولى الانعام سديد الدين
جمال الاسلام سيد الانمة والعلماء سند الاصحاب

as handing down from the Imám Aqḍa'l-Qudát Dhahíru'd-Dín of Astarábád a tradition that on one occasion when Abú Ḥanífa prayed for the safe endurance of his doctrine he was answered by a *ḥatíf*, or Voice from the Unseen: "The truth hast thou uttered: thy doctrine shall not wane so long as the sword abides in the hands of the Turks"—

حقاً قُلْتَ لا زال مذهبك ما دام السيف في يد الاتراك

This leads, by a natural transition, to a panegyric on the Turks, especially the Seljúqs, as the champions of orthodoxy, and an exultant boast that "in Arabia, Persia, Rúm (Turkey in Asia), and Russia the sword is indeed in their hands." But though the author declares that "whosoever speaks ill of Abú Ḥanífa or ash-Sháfi'í is an infidel," it is clear that he prefers the former, since he praises Sultán Sinjar because he would suffer only Ḥanafites to hold office, and relates that when the great minister Nidhāmu'l-Mulk gave the *Maṣjid-i-jāmi'*, or Great Mosque, of Iṣfahán to the Sháfi'ites, such riots ensued that Sultán Muḥammad sent an army to scatter the insurgents (many of whom he beheaded) and to restore the mosque to the Ḥanafites. Mention is also made of a similar occurrence at Hamadhán. This general

praise of the Seljúqs is followed by a wordy and bombastic panegyric, in mixed prose and verse, on the author's patron, the king Abu'l-Fath Kay-Khusraw b. 'Alá'u'd-Dawla 'Izzu'd-Dín Qilij Arslán b. Mas'úd b. Qilij Arslán b. Sulaymán b. (*sic*: cf. p. 569 *supra*, n. 1 *ad calc.*) Ghází b. Qutlamish b. Isrá'íl b. Seljúq. Of the Arabic and Persian verses cited in this connection most, as the author assures us, are his own. Amongst them is a *qasida* of thirty couplets, beginning:—

زهی عشق تو ملک جان گرفته ' جهان را در خط فرمان گرفته '

and the following boastful allusion of the author to his work:—

درختی بکشم بحرّم بهشت ' کجوان درخت آفریدون نکشت '

Religion, learning, and piety, he declares, flourish under the protection of the Seljúqs, especially in Khurásán, while irreligion, heresy, schism, and *philosophy* have disappeared (this last assertion is probably the truest part of the encomium, for when did Turkish rulers ever befriend original thought?), and the doctrines of the materialists and believers in metempsychosis (تناسخیان و دهریان) have been stamped out, so that "all paths are closed save the Path of Muḥammad." Every great Seljúq ruler patronized and made famous some conspicuous theologians and men of learning, such as Fakhru'd-Dín Kúfí, Imám Burhán, Abu'l-Faḍl Kirmání, Imám Ḥusám, Bukhárí, Muḥammad Mansúr Sarakhsí, Náṣihí, Mas'údí, and others; while to their pious zeal for religion was to be ascribed the good conduct of their agents and governors, and the comfort and tranquillity of their subjects; for no heretics (بد دینان) were suffered to enter the public service. But latterly, the author complains (f. 14^a), all this is changed: "heretic myrmidons" (عوانان) abound, and hence the present distress and heavy taxation.¹ These heretics hail for the most part from the

¹ The connection is not obvious, but we are reminded of a feature in the well-known story of the quarrel between the Nidhámú'l-Mulk and Hasan-i-Shabbáh, the latter having excited the King's cupidity by declaring himself able to increase

towns of Qum, Káshán, Ába, طبرش, Ray, and Faráhán, and gain office by promising the king an increased revenue (توفیر), "under which expression," says the author, "they cloak their exactions." Against such he warns his patron:—

ز دستور بد گهر و جفت بد ' تباهی بدیهم شاهی رسد '

These men, who are set in authority over true believers, are "unbelieving captains, whose blood, according to the dictates of scripture, is lawful":—

سرهنگان نا مسلمان که بفتوی قرآن خون ایشان مباح است '

They do all manner of evil; build wine-shops; and openly practise every kind of immorality (بفاش لواطه و زنا کنند). Their first word is abuse, their second the cudgel, and their third "Give money!"

اول سخن دشنام و دوم جماع و سوم زربده '

These heretics, Ráfidís and Ash'arís, ought to be taxed and mulcted like Jews:—

جزیه الیهود و سرگزیت بددینان بر بادشاهان از گوشت قربان مباح ترست '

As for their books, these are "more unclean than the Zend and Avesta, and than the books of the materialists":—

آن کتب که از زند و آستا و کتب دهریان بلیذترست '

largely the revenues of the State, presumably by additional taxation. Some colour is given to this part of the story by passages in the Nidhámu'l-Mulk's *Siyásat-náma*, where he solemnly warns the King his master of the direct responsibility which lies on him for any extortion practised by his agents or his subjects, and where he devotes a whole chapter to denouncing the admission of heretics into State employ: see Schefer's edition of this interesting work *passim*, especially pp. 138 et seqq. The word *عوان* seems always to be used in a bad sense, meaning 'satellite,' 'myrmidon,' in Persian, as in the following couplet from the *Mathnawí* of Jalálu'd-Dín Rúmí:—

مرد زان گفتن پشیمان شد چنان ' کز عوانی ساعت مردن عوان '
 "The husband was as sorry for what he had said as is the myrmidon in the hour of death for his misdeeds."

In the year '95 (presumably A.H. 595=A.D. 1199, four years before our author wrote his book), throughout all 'Irâq they used to weigh books of learning and tradition and the Qur'ân in the scales, and sell them at the rate of a maund for half a *dâng*:—

در شهر سنه ثمان و تسعين در جمله عراق کتب علمی و اخبار
و قرآن بترازو می کشیدند و یک من بنیم دانگ می فروختند¹

Here is inserted (f. 15) a rather remarkable *qaṣida* of 43 couplets, on the evil and corrupt state of the world, by Jamálu'd-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'r-Razzâq al-Iṣfahânî, beginning:—

الحذار ای عاقلان زین وحشت آباد الحذار

الفرار ای عاقلان زین دیو مردم الفرار

In the course of this *qaṣida* mention is made of Shaykh Abú Yahyá and Khwāja Malik, and there occurs the following couplet,¹ which I think is celebrated:—

گر بدبایهای رنگین آدمی گردن کسی

بس در اطلس جیست گرگ و در عتابی سوسمار

After expressing his admiration for this poem, our author remarks that it was composed in, and applied to "the days of power of the House of Īldigiz" (the first of the Atábegs of Ādharbáyján, ruled A.H. 531-568=A.D. 1136-1172), days far less evil than these, when famine and poverty prevail, and virtuous men are driven into exile.

In the next section (f. 17*), entitled:—

ذکر احوال مصنف کتاب و ثنای دوستان و استادانش

the author tells us something of his own life and circumstances. In the year A.H. [5]70 (=A.D. 1174-5) he appears to have been reduced to great distress by a famine

¹ By Dawlatsháh (p. 114 of my edition) it is ascribed to Dhahíru'd-Dīn Faryábi.

then prevailing in Iṣfahán, but he found protection and maintenance in the house of his maternal uncle, Táju'd-Dín Abu'l-Faḍl Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Alí ar-Ráwandí, who seems from the following passage (f. 17^b) to have been a professor, first at Iṣfahán and afterwards at Hamadhán:—

... در جملهٔ عراق استان همکنان است منصب تدریس ازو
آراسته است و بدار الملک همدانش بآذ شاه عادل ملک الامر
جمال الدین ابی ابه الاعظم اتابکی عز نصره فرا خواسته است
و مدرسهٔ خویش و چند مدرسهٔ دیگر و خانقاهها بدو بیارسته و شکوه
علمای آن شهر بدوست و در انواع علوم مقدم همه اوست

In his service the author remained for ten years, during which he learned to write 70 different handwritings, and earned his living by his skill in calligraphy, binding, and gilding (تذهیب).—Prosperity of Iṣfahán at this time.—The Qáḍí Ruknu'd-Dín Sá'id b. Mas'úd.—Hamadhán the capital.—Praise of the then reigning king, Ruknu'd-Dín Ghiyáthu'l-Islám Ṭughril b. Arslán b. Ṭughril (Ṭughril II, reigned A.H. 573–590 = A.D. 1177–1194), and eulogy of his virtues and patronage of learned men. In A.H. 577 (= A.D. 1181–2) this prince desired to learn calligraphy, and another maternal uncle of the author (brother of him above mentioned), the Imám Zaynu'd-Dín Majdu'l-Islám Maḥmúd b. Muḥammad b. 'Alí ar-Ráwandí, was chosen as his instructor. The Sultán employed his newly acquired accomplishment in transcribing the Qur'án, and 100 Maghribí dínárs were expended in gilding and illuminating each portion, or *juz'*, as it was finished. Part of this volume was in the possession of 'Alá'u'd-Dín, lord of Marágha, and part in that of بکتمر, lord of Akhlát and others. The author was one of those charged with the gilding and illumination of it, and was thus brought under the notice of the king, a detailed history of whose great deeds and achievements he purposes to write, should he be spared:—

تاریخ آن دولت و عجایبهای آن مملکت اگر نوشته شود ده شاهنامه و اسکندرنامه بیش بود... و اگر این دعاگوی در دولت و نعمت بادشاه عمریابد تاریخ دولت طغرلی بنویسد و از آن کتابی سازد نظماً و نثراً^۱

This present work, however, is a mere compendium, for a full account of the geste of Sultán Tughril, Atábek Muḥammad, and Qizil Arslán would exceed the limits which he has set himself (f. 20*). He includes in his work the panegyrics uttered by various poets on his patrons, because "men have too much discernment to praise a man unless they discern in him signs of well-doing":—

الناس اكيس من ان يمدحوا رجلاً ولم يروا فيه من آثار احسان

In every city men of learning were conspicuous and influential, and in Hamadhán the influence of Sayyids and 'Alawís was paramount under the Sultáns Sulaymán and Sulaymánsháh, so that it was said:—

ملك سليمان بسليمان رسيد مژده بايران و بتوران رسيد

Amír Sayyid Murtaḍá Kabír Fakhru'd-Dín 'Alá'u'd-Dawla 'Arabsháh.—His sons Sayyid Majdu'd-Dín Humáyún and Amír Sayyid Fakhru'd-Dín Khusrawsháh.—The latter, when imprisoned in the Castle of Sar-jahán (see *Bundári*, pp. 201, 222, and 300), composed the two following quatrains in dialect (فهلوتيه)¹:—

خوبیش و بیتانه و آزاد و بنده و انکشان واتها کیابی بتنده
او جمن خونشان باهت سمشیر و ز بتنگی دریم اسبر بونده
ازان رو واکه بوریم ما-ئم نه اج خویشان نه اج بیبانه ائم
کی نوا کز بایین سانه بومان داله زیونده مانم یا نمائم

¹ I cannot understand these verses, and so have copied them as they stand in the MS., but I suspect that in the first we should read خوبیش و بیبانه (the latter, as in the second quatrain, for بیگانه), and perhaps وز ور.

Another dialect verse (فهلویّه) addressed to Sultān Sulaymān by 'Alá'u'd-Dawla, father of the author of the verses last quoted, runs as follows:—

بود ارونند کوه اج یا بنشی ' ارونند ارونند بسی واذ آید وثی '

Amír Sayyid 'Imádu'd-Dín Mardánsháh, another son of 'Alá'u'd-Dawla, was the pupil of our author (f. 20^b), who lived in his house for five or six months. One day a minstrel sung before him a song wherein occurred this verse:—

دارم سخنان تازه و زر کهن ' آخر بکف آرمت بنز یا بسخن '

The Imám Ghazzálí, who happened to be present, thereupon launched forth in praise of verse and eloquence, saying:—

سخن خازن اسرار جبروتست و مایه اسرار هاروت و ماروت که إن
مِنَ الْبَيَّانِ لَسِحْرًا ' سخنست که در محرابها امام اوست و در
آتش کذا موبذ تمام بدوست '

سخن از گنبد کبود آمد '
ز آسمانها سخن فروز آمد '
گر بُذی گوهری و رای سخن '
آن فروز آمدی بجای سخن '
سخن از هرج در جهان بیش است '
آدمی ز آن ز همکنان بیش است '
گذخداي همه جهان سخنست '
جانِ تن جان [و] جانِ جان سخنست '

The author next makes mention of another of his friends, a youth in years but old in wisdom, named Shihábu'd-Dín

¹ This verse is cited by Dawlataháh (p. 6, l. 23 of my edition), who ascribes it to Nidhámí.

Jamálu'l-Islám Aḥmad b. Abí Maṣṣúr b. Muḥammad b. Maṣṣúr al-Bazzáz al-Qásání (f. 21^b), in whose honour he introduces some verses, amongst which is the following:—

ای ز رای تو کرده استمداد ' روح نواب و صاحب عباد '

It was at the request and suggestion of this friend that the present work, entitled *Rāḥatu's-Sudúr wa Ayatu* (not *riḥāyatu* as in Blochet's *Catalogue*, p. 65) *s-Surúr*, was composed. The author seems to have been engaged on it for two years, for he says (f. 22^a):—

شکر نعمت او بگزارم که درین دو سال هر آرزو که مرا بود از انواع
نعم او حاصل کرد ' با من خوردی و خفتی و هیچ راز از من
ننهفتی ' (شعر)

گر من عواطف تو فراموش میکنم
بازا غمان من چو ایادیت بی شمار
والله که در هوای تو بیشی نیایدم
گر صد هزار دل بُودم همچو کوکنار
(شعر)

العلم فيه جلاله ومهابته ' والعلم انفع من كنوز الجواهر
تفنى الكنوز على الزمان وعصره ' والعلم يبقى باقيات الالهة

To this Ṣadr Shihābu'd-Dīn Aḥmad are ascribed (f. 22^b) two Arabic and five Persian couplets; whereof the former are cited by Dawlatshāh (p. 21, ll. 14–15 of my edition), and by him ascribed to 'Alí! The author boasts of his many distinguished pupils, princes, governors, and scholars, who, he declares, "gloried in having studied under him"; and remarks that, being by birth a native of Kāshān, he was much helped by his fellow-citizens, many of whom held office in secretarial posts, the Kāshānīs being everywhere celebrated for their skill in calligraphy:—

در عراق هر جا که خطی نیکو بینند گویند خط کاشانیست یا از
کاشیان آموخته است و در جمله خطه عراق و لشکر حوراسان (sic)
که بعراق آمد و لشکر بغداد و شامیان و لشکر آذربایجان و رسولان
اطراف که بخدمت سلطان عالم طغرل بن ارسلان آمدندی و خال
دعاگوی را دیدندی من تحت القرط و فرط العلم اقرار دادندی که
مثل زین الدین مجموعی نیست در روی زمین

In the year A.H. 557 (=A.D. 1161-2) the above-mentioned Zaynu'd-Din, our author's maternal uncle, being then only 18 years old, recited at Káshán, then the centre of Arabic learning in Persia, an Arabic *qaṣida*, which was admitted by all judges to be incomparable. His poems were widely imitated by his numerous admirers. Amongst them is the following Persian quatrain :—

من جز غم تو نمی خورم فارغ باش ' من مهر تو با گور برم فارغ باش
جانا بسم که تا زیم خواهد بود ' خاک کف دست تاج سرم فارغ باش

Again, in A.H. 577 (=A.D. 1181-2) he recited to 'Azízu'd-Din *mustawfi* an Arabic *qaṣida* (33 couplets cited), composed in a single night, from which even his enemies and rivals could not withhold their praise. After mentioning Khwāja Dhahíru'd-Dín Karají, whom he calls "peerless in his time" (وحید عصر), our author mentions some of his teachers at Hamadhán, to wit, Fakhru'd-Dín Balkhí, Ṣafi'u'd-Dín Iṣfahání, and Bahá'u'd-Dín Yazdí, and then cites (f. 25^a) the following rather fine Arabic verses :—

قالوا تركت الشعر قلت ضرورة ' باب الدواعي والبواعث مغلقت
خلت الديار فلا مديح يرثي ' منه التوال ولا ملبح يفتش
ومن العجايب انه لا يشتري ' ومع الكساد يخان فيه ويسرق

In A.H. 580 (=A.D. 1184-5) King Ruknu'd-Dín Tughril b. Arslán (Tughril II: see p. 575 *supra*) desired the author's

uncle Zaynu'd-Dín to compile and transcribe for him an anthology of poems, and the volume, on its completion, was illuminated, and illustrated with portraits of the poets cited, by Jamál the painter of Isfahán. The poems were supplemented by entertaining anecdotes about their authors, and the King himself often came to superintend the progress of the work:—

در آن حال امیر الشعراء و سفیر الکبراء شمس الدین احمد
منوچهر شصت کله که قصیده تتماج گفته است حکایت کرد که
سید اشرف بهمدان رسید در مکتبها می گردید و می دید تا کرا
طبع شعرست، مصرعی بمن داد تا بران وزن دوسه بیت گفتم
بسمع رضا اصفا فرمود و مرا بدان بستون و حت و محریص واجب
داشت و گفت از اشعار متأخران چون عمادی و انوری و سید
اشرف و با فرج رونی و امثال عرب و اشعار تازی و حکم شاهنامه
آنچه طبع تو بدان میل کند قدر دویست بیت از هرجا اختیار کن
و یاد گیر و بر خواندن شاهنامه مواظبت نمای تا شعر بغایت
برسد و از شعر سنائی و عنصری و معری و رودکی اجتناب کن هرگز
نشوی و بخوانی که آن طبعهای بلندست طبع تو ببندد و از
مقصود باز دارد، شمس الدین شصت کله گفت من و چند کس
دیگر این وصیت را بجای آوردیم بمقصود رسیدیم و غایت مطلوب
بدیدیم، بیت اینست

(بیت)
صبح بی روی تو نفس نزند، نفس عشق بی تو کس نزند

This passage is very interesting from the point of view of literary history, as showing the judgment of men of taste in those early times when Anwarí and Abu'l-Faraj of Rúna could still be spoken of as 'moderns,' and it may be compared with two similar passages in the rather earlier *Chahár Maqála* (pp. 24-25 and 49-50 of the separate

reprint of my translation of that work = *J.R.A.S.* for 1899, pp. 636-7 and 661-2). It also raises, on chronological grounds, very serious doubts as to whether two entirely different poets, one *Minúchihri* of the early Ghaznavid period, and another *Minúchihri* (called شصت كله, however this *sobriquet* is to be explained¹), who, as the above extract shows, was at any rate posterior to Anwarí, have not been confounded by Dawlatsháh (pp. 40-41 of my edition) and other later writers, including M. A. de Biberstein Kazimirski, the editor and translator of the *Diván de Menoutchehri*. For Anwarí lived till the latter part of the sixth century of the *hijra*, being, in fact, contemporary with our author, which makes it impossible that one of his contemporaries—and, moreover, a younger contemporary—could have been the court poet of the Amír Falaku'l-Ma'áli Minúchihri, who died about A.H. 420, more especially if it be true, as 'Awfí tells us in his *Lubábu'l-Albáb*, that this court poet "was short-lived . . . and died about the year four hundred and thirty and odd." As the Persians say, جای تأمل است.

To return to our MS. (f. 26^a). Our author was moved by these examples to a desire to make such an anthology of Persian verse, but was hindered by adverse circumstances, amongst which he refers especially to the death of Tughril II in the year A.H. 590 (=A.D. 1194). After lavishing praises on the *Sháhnáma* of Firdawsí, from which he continually cites lengthy passages, he introduces the following fine Arabic verses, which strongly recall two Persian couplets cited (p. 45 of the reprint = *J.R.A.S.* for 1899, p. 657) in the *Chahár Maqála* :—

لولا جريرٌ والفرزدقُ لم يَدُم ' ذكُرٌ جميلٌ من بني مروان '
و نرى نناءَ التردكسى مَخْلَدًا ' من كل ما جَمَعَتْ بنو سامان '
و ملوكُ غسانٍ تفانوا غير ما ' قد قاله حسانُ في غسان '

The following Persian verses which immediately follow

¹ Its meaning is discussed in Kazimirski's ed. of the *Diván*, p. ۳.

remind us strongly of a well-known passage in the first book of Sa'di's *Gulistán* (ed. Platts, p. 14, l. 12):—

آن خسروان که نام نکو کسب کرده‌اند
رفتند و یاذگار ازیشان جز آن نماند
نوشین روان اگر چه فراوانش گنج بود
جز نام نیک از بس نوشین روان نماند

Finally, in A.H. 599 (= A.D. 1202-3) the author resolved to compose some work which should immortalize his memory, and to dedicate it to the Seljúc Abu'l-Fatḥ Kay-Khusraw, the conqueror of Antioch. After repeating its title, he states summarily its contents, to wit:—Praise of God, the Prophet, the Holy Family, the Imáms, the 'Companions,' the 'Followers,' the eminent doctors of Islám, and his Royal Patron; some account of his own life; the cause of composition; celebration of the justice and mighty deeds of the Seljúqs; some account of the poets of this age, and the panegyrics recited by them in the Royal Presence; concluding with some remarks on Court etiquette and courtly accomplishments, such as wine-drinking, chess, draughts, archery, horsemanship, venery, state receptions, battle, banquet, calligraphy, مغلوب و غالب, drugs and potions, علم باد, and, in conclusion, a selection of مضمکات و هزئیات, which last, however (f. 175^b), he ultimately decided to omit. The indulgence of his readers is claimed (f. 28^a) in the following verses:—

إذا أَحَسَّستَ في لفظي فتوراً
وخطي والبراعة والبيان
فلا ترتب بنهمي أن رقصي
على مقدار إيقاع الزمان

The Seljúc rule began with Isrá'il b. Seljúc, the seventh ancestor in the direct line of ascent of Abu'l-Fatḥ Kay-Khusraw, the patron of our author, who, after invoking curses on anyone who shall alter or deface his book, and making mention of Dhahíru'd-Dín Níshápúrí, the tutor of Sultáns Arslán and Mas'úd, passes to a dissertation on the

value of a study of history, and the virtues of the Seljûqs, who, he declares (f. 29*), were, after the Caliphs, the greatest and most religious monarchs who ever reigned. Ruknu'd-Dîn Abû Tâlib Tughril b. Muḥammad b. Malikshâh, entitled *Yamīnu Amīri'l-Mūminīn* (Tughril I, reigned A.H. 526-7 = A.D. 1132-3), received the warrant for his sovereignty from Baghdad, and the author expresses his regret that, owing to the short life of this ruler, he himself was deprived of the felicity of living in his days. He proposes to give some account of the ministers, chamberlains, and *atābeks* of each Seljûk monarch, and reminds his patron that of Malikshâh, Maḥmūd, Barkiyārūq, Muḥammad, Tughril, and Mas'ūd naught remains, in spite of their great deeds, save their pious and charitable works and the colleges which they founded at Iṣfahān, Hamadhān, and other places. He therefore bids him:—

اعتبر بمن مضى قبلك ولا تكن عبرة لمن يكون خلفك

Here follows an Arabic metrical translation of the well-known verses from the *Shāhnāma*:—

فریدون فرخ فرشته نبود ' ز مشک و ز عنبر سرشته نبود
بداد و دهش یافت آن نیکوئی ' توداد و دهش کن فریدون توئی

The Arabic version (f. 30^b) runs:—

ان فریدون لم یکن مَلَكًا ' ولا من المسک کان معجونًا
بالعدل و الجود نال مکرمة ' فاعدل و مجد کی تکن فریدونًا

Anecdote of the Caliph 'Umar, who, being reviled by a man on whom he was inflicting the stripes prescribed for a breach of the law (حد), handed the whip to another, lest personal rancour should mingle with zeal to avenge the law.¹—The Caliph al-Ma'mūn advised to take as his

¹ Compare a very similar story about 'Alī at the end of the first book of the *Mathnawī* of Jalālu'd-Dīn Rūmī.

model Núshírwán, whose signet-ring bore the inscription به مه نه مه به, which I suppose is intended to signify, "The best is the greatest, not the greatest the best."—Anecdotes of 'Umar, Abú Músa al-Ash'arí, and al-Muqtadir's *wasir* 'Alí b. 'Ysá.

ظالم که کباب از دل درویش خورد
 چون در نگری ز پهلوی خویش خورد
 دنیا عسست هرک ازو بیش خورد
 خون افزایش تب آورد نیش خورد

An ancient treasure found in Kirmán in the time of the House of Daylam.—Anecdote of an old grandson and his young grandfather.—A man's apparent age depends on his wife.—A self-denying dispute concerning treasure-trove.—(f. 33^b) The story of Cain and Abel.—Story of Núshírwán, the peasant-girl, and the sherbet of sugar-cane (آب نی شکر).—Narrative of Jamálu'd-Dín Yazdí, the *mufti* of Işfahán concerning the cripple 'Alí 'Allám of Yazd, who was cured by the 'king's touch' of Sultán Muḥammad b. Maliksháh.—This king (f. 35^a) was awe-inspiring (مهیّب) in aspect, while his brother Barkiyáruq was gentle and mild (لطیف).—Conversation of Marwáridh with him.—Story of Solomon and the ants.—Muḥammad b. Ḥasan ash-Shaybání's ideals of justice, "even towards the Jews."—A fire-worshipper converted to Islám by witnessing the justice of the Umayyad Caliph 'Umar b. 'Abdu'l-'Azíz.—Story of Sháh Hurmuz the Sásanian and his son Parwíz.—Persian *mathnawí* poem of 56 couplets on this subject, beginning:—

جو شه در عدل خون نمود سُستی
 بدیدد آمد جهان را تن دُرستی
 خرابی داشت از کار جهان دست
 جهان از دست کاراین جهان رست

The author expresses his hopes that his royal patron, Sultán Abu'l-Fath Kay-Khusraw, will imitate these noble examples of justice, and then enumerates the Seljûq kings, with their titles and pedigrees, as follows (ff. 37^b-39^a):—

- ١ ' سلجوق بن لقمان
- ٢ ' الملك جغرى بك ابو سليمان داؤد بن ميكائيل بن سلجوق
- ٣ ' السلطان ركن الدولة ابو طالب طغرل بك محمد بن ميكائيل
يمين امير المؤمنين^١
- ٤ ' السلطان عضد الدولة ابو شجاع الب ارسلان محمد [بن داؤد بن
ميكائيل سلجوق]
- ٥ ' السلطان معز الدنيا والدين ملكشاه بن محمد (هو الب ارسلان)
قسيم امير المؤمنين
- ٦ ' السلطان ركن الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر [بركيارق] بن ملكشاه
يمين امير المؤمنين^٢
- ٧ ' السلطان غياث الدنيا والدين ابو شجاع محمد بن ملكشاه قسيم
امير المؤمنين
- ٨ ' السلطان معز الدنيا والدين ابو الحارث سنجر بن ملكشاه برهان
امير المؤمنين
- ٩ ' السلطان مغيث الدنيا والدين محمود بن محمد بن ملكشاه
يمين امير المؤمنين^٣

^١ Tughril Beg's name is omitted in this place in the MS. I supply it from f. 46^a, where the account of his reign is given.

^٢ The omission of Mahmûd b. Malikshâh, whose name should come here, whether it be intentional or not, occurs also in the text. From a passage on f. 58^a, however, it would appear that the author regarded him as a usurper, or at least as not *de facto* king.

^٣ The omission at this point of Dâ'ûd (who reigned, according to Lane, one year, A.H. 525-6) seems likewise to be intentional, no separate article being consecrated to him in the text.

- ١٠ 'السلطان ركن الدنيا والدين ابو طالب طغرل بن محمد بن ملكشاه يمين امير المؤمنين'
- ١١ 'السلطان غياث الدنيا والدين ابو الفتح مسعود بن محمد بن ملكشاه قسيم امير المؤمنين'
- ١٢ 'السلطان مغيث الدنيا والدين ملكشاه بن محمود بن محمد يمين امير المؤمنين'
- ١٣ 'السلطان غياث الدنيا والدين ابو شجاع محمد بن محمود بن محمد قسيم امير المؤمنين'
- ١٤ 'السلطان معتز الدنيا والدين ابو الحارث سليمان [بن محمد بن ملكشاه] برهان امير المؤمنين'
- ١٥ 'السلطان ركن الدنيا والدين ارسلان بن طغرل [بن محمد بن ملكشاه] قسيم امير المؤمنين'
- ١٦ 'السلطان ركن الدنيا والدين ابو طالب طغرل بن ارسلان قسيم امير المؤمنين'

Here may be said to begin the historical portion of this discursive work, though the author places it on f. 30^a, at the beginning of his praise of justice:—

ابتدأ كتاب راحة الصدور وآية الشرور وذكر عدل و ستایش انصاف'

1. *Beginning of the Seljûq power.*

The Seljûq Turks came originally from Turkistán to Transoxania (ما وراء النهر), dwelling in winter in Núr of Bukhárâ (cf. *Bundâri*, p. 5, ll. 4-5) and in summer near Sughd of Samarqand. Seljûq had four sons—Isrâ'il (eighth ancestor of the author's patron, Abu'l-Fath Kay-Khusraw),

Míká'il, Yúnus (f. 40*), and Músá. Isrá'il, the eldest, was driven to revolt by the injustice of his liege, Sultán Maḥmúd of Ghazna, who, instigated by the Ylak Khán (Qadar Khán: cf. *Bundāri*, p. 5, l. 9), with whom he had just concluded peace on the banks of the Oxus, invited the Seljúqs to settle on the frontiers of his kingdom, forgetting the proverb:—

لَا تَنْتَحِ أَبَا يُغْيِيكَ سَدُّهُ وَلَا تَرْبِلْ سَهْمًا يَعْجِزُكَ رَدُّهُ

On one occasion (f. 40*), when Isrá'il was with Sultán Maḥmúd, the latter enquired of him how many armed men he could supply in case of need, to which he returned the answer recorded by most historians (whose fancy is struck by the tale), that an arrow sent by him to his tribe would bring 100,000 horsemen to his side, and his bow 200,000. This reply filled Sultán Maḥmúd with apprehensions, and he forthwith devised a plan to cast Isrá'il and his followers into bonds, and imprison them in the castle of Kálanjar (كالنجار) in India. There Isrá'il languished in captivity for seven years, in spite of the attempts to rescue him made by the Turkmáns, whom he bids not to despair, because Sultán Maḥmúd is only the son of a slave (مولی زاده). Finally, (f. 41*) Isrá'il dies in bondage, but his son Qutalmish (قُتْلَمِش) escapes from India to Sístán by way of the "Red-caps' Desert" (بیابان سرخ کلاهان), whence in time he joins his uncles and kinsmen at Bakhárá. These now swear vengeance against the treacherous Sultán Maḥmúd (f. 42*), from whom they ask permission to cross the Oxus and settle between Nasá and Báward. Arslán Jádhib, governor of Tús, who built the Ribát-i-Sang-bast (cf. my ed. of *Dawlatsháh*, p. 176, ll. 2-10), and is there interred, advised the King to refuse this request, lest, through the growing strength of the Seljúqs, some mischief might accrue to Khurásán:—

ارسلان جاذب که والی طوس بود و رباط سنگ بست کردست

و آنجا مدفونست سلطان را گفت صواب نباشد ایشان را بخراسان
راه دادن که خیلی بسیارند و ساز و عذت دارند نباید که از ایشان
فسادی آید


Contrary to this advice, Sultán Maḥmúd granted the request of the Seljúqs, who, however, caused no further trouble until his death in A.H. 418 (= A.D. 1027). During this period there had been born to Míká'il b. Seljúq his sons Chaghri Beg Abú Sulaymán Dá'úd and Tughril Beg Abú Tálíb Muḥammad. On the accession of Mas'úd b. Maḥmúd messengers were sent to the 'Amíd of Nishápúr Súri b. al-Mu'tazz (cf. my ed. of Dawlatsháh, p. 50, ll. 22-23, where the reading *معشر بن ابو* should no doubt be corrected to *بن المعتز*), who built the cupola at Mashhad over the tomb of the Imám Ridá, and who was at this time encamped in Gurgán against the Ziyárid prince Sharafu'l-Ma'álí Núshírwán b. Falaku'l-Ma'álí Minúchihr b. Shamsu'l-Ma'álí Qábús b. Washmgír, awaiting support from the 'Amíd Abú Sa'id Hamdúní. He at once wrote to Mas'úd b. Maḥmúd, who thereupon left Nishápúr to attack the Seljúqs. His soldiers were wearied and their weapons rusted with marching through the forests and marshes of Mázandarán, and they were shamefully defeated by the Seljúqs, who carried off much booty. This engagement took place between Shahristána and Firáw (شهرستانه و فراو). Sultán Mas'úd, though greatly vexed at this reverse, was compelled to come to terms with the Seljúqs, as he was then preparing for a campaign in India.

جو خواهد بود روزی برف و باران ' بدید آید نشان از بامدادان

On his return to Ghazna he found that they had greatly increased in strength, and ordered them to be expelled from Khurásán, but the governor of that province, having very unwillingly attempted to carry out this order, suffered a serious defeat (f. 43^a), whereby the boldness of the Seljúqs was still further increased. so that Tughril Beg

came to Níshápúr and (in Ramadán, A.H. 429 = June, A.D. 1038), as we learn from Bundarí (p. 7, l. 1), was proclaimed king.

2. *Reign of Tughril Beg* (ff. 43^a–48^b).

His full name and title was *as-Sultánu'l-Mu'adhdham Ruknu'd-Dawla wa'd-Dunyá wa'd-Din Abú Tálíb Tughril Beg Muḥammad b. Miká'il b. Seljúq*. Later, in A.H. 437 (= A.D. 1045–6), as we learn from f. 46^a of our MS., his sovereignty was recognized by the Caliph, who conferred on him the title of *Yamīnu Amīri'l-Mūminīn*. His ministers were Abū'l-Qásim al-Kúbání, the Sálár of Búzhgán; Abú Aḥmad ad-Dahistání, called عمرک; and the 'Amīdu'l-Mulk Abú Naṣr al-Kundurí. His chamberlain was 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán Alp-zan al-Āghájí. His crest or sign-manual was , the shape of a club or mace (شكل جماتی). He reigned 26 years.

Here follows (f. 43^b) an anecdote which is of great interest as proving conclusively the date at which Bábbá Táhír, the celebrated dialect poet of Hamadhán, flourished.¹ This extract I give in the original.

شنیدم که چون سلطان طغرلبک بهمدان آمد از اولیا سه بیر
 بودند بابا طاهر و بابا جعفر و شیخ حمشا، کوهکیست بر درهمدان
 آنرا خضر خوانند بر آئجا ایستاده بودند، نظر سلطان بریشان آمد
 کوبه لشکر بداشت و بیاده شد و با وزیر ابو نصر الکندری بیش
 ایشان آمد و دستهایشان ببوسید، بابا طاهر باره شیفته گونه بودی
 اورا گفت ای ترک با خلق خدای چه خواهی کرد، سلطان گفت

¹ An article on this poet by Zhukovski appeared at pp. 104–108 of the *Zapiski of the Oriental Section of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society* for 1901 (vol. xiii, part 4). See also Mr. E. Heron-Allen's recently published *Lament of Bábbá Táhír* (Quaritch, 1902).

آنچه تو فرمائی، بابا گفت آن کن که خدا می فرماید، ان الله يأمر بالعدل والاحسان، سلطان بگریست و گفت جنین کنم، بابا دستش بستد و گفت از من بذیرفتی، سلطان گفت آری، بابا سر ابریقی شکسته که سالها از آن وضو کرده بود در انگشت داشت بیرون کرد و در انگشت سلطان کرد و گفت مملکت عالم جنین در دست تو کردم بر عدل باش، سلطان بیوست آن در میان تعویذها داشتی و چون مصافی بیش آمدی آن در انگشت کردی، اعتقاد پاک و صفای عقیدت او جنین بود و در دین محمدی صلعم ازو دین دارتر و بیدارتر نبود، (شعر)

دران بخشش که رحمت عام کردند، دو صاحب را محمد نام کردند، یکی ختم نبوت گشت ذاتش، یکی ختم ممالک در حیاتش،

This meeting of Tughril Beg and Bábá Tāhir probably took place about A.H. 447 (= A.D. 1055-6: cf. *Bundārī*, pp. 12-13) or A.H. 450 (= A.D. 1058-9: cf. *ibid.*, p. 15), so that the latter may very well have, as asserted by some writers (Zhukovski, loc. cit.), conversed with the great Avicenna († A.H. 427 = A.D. 1036).

The growing power of Tughril Beg (f. 44*) impelled Sulṭān Mas'ūd of Ghazna again to hazard a campaign against him. Setting out from Ghazna, he marched by way of Bust and Takínábád to Khurásán, where Tughril Beg, separated from his brother (Chaghri Beg),¹ was then residing. Mas'ūd, mounted on a female elephant, resolved on a forced night-march of 25 parasangs, designing thereby to prevent the Seljúq forces from effecting a junction. Unfortunately he

¹ The MS. is too ancient to distinguish, as a rule, between ج and چ, so that this name is generally written جغری, but on f. 45*, l. 4, we find چغری.

fell asleep on the elephant's back, and his retainers dared not wake him or continue the march. When he awoke at day-break he found that Tughril Beg had eluded him and joined his brother Chaghri Beg. Mas'úd, after putting the driver of his elephant to death, turned back to a plain between Sarakhs and Merv, where the Seljúq forces were encamped. These, having supplied themselves with sufficient water, had filled up the wells; and Mas'úd's army, tormented by thirst, suffered a fresh defeat at their hands. During the rout and flight of the Ghaznavid army (f. 44^b) Mas'úd dealt one of the pursuing Turkmáns so terrible and deadly a blow that the comrades of the victim dared not press the pursuit. "Such," said Mas'úd, "is my sword-stroke, but luck is wanting!"

زخم این است اما اقبال نیست

By this victory (f. 45^a) the power and prestige of the Seljúqs was confirmed and increased, and the issue of the struggle was no longer doubtful:—

قضى الله امراً وجف القلم ، وفيما قضى ربنا ما ظلم

Tughril, Chaghri, and their uncle Músá b. Seljúq, called Payghú Kalán (or, by other writers, Arslán Payghú), bind themselves by an oath to loyal union and mutual support. The old illustration of the strength of united action by the bundle of arrows and the component arrows taken singly is here said to have been employed by Tughril Beg on this occasion. The three kinsmen then indite a letter to the Caliph al-Qá'im, relating the treacherous dealing of Sultán Maḥmúd towards Isrá'il b. Seljúq (see p. 587 *supra*), assuring him of their loyalty to himself, and craving his sanction and recognition of their power. This missive they despatch (f. 45^b) by the hands of Abú Isháq al-Fuqqá'í (cf. *Bundart*, pp. 7-8), They choose the Sálár of Búzhgán as their minister, and then proceed to divide the territories which they have conquered. Chaghri Beg takes Merv; Músá Payghú Kalán, Bust, Herát, and Sístán; Qáwurd, Chaghri Beg's eldest son, Kirmán and Tabasayn (Tún and Tabas);

Ṭughril Beg, 'Iráq; Ibráhím b. Ínál¹ b. Seljúq was sent to Hamadhán (Ṭughril selecting Ray as his capital); Amír Yáqúti [b. Dá'úd Chaghri Beg] to Abhar, Zanján, and Adharbáyján; and Qutalmish [b. Músá Payghú Kalán] to Gurgán and Dámghán. Alp Arslán, another of Chaghri Beg's sons, elected to remain with his uncle Ṭughril Beg, saying:—

رَضَاكَ رِضَايَ الَّذِي أُوتِرُ، وَسِرَّتْ سِرِّي فَمَا أَظْهَرُ

When the Caliph received the letter above mentioned, he sent Hibatu'lláh b. Muḥammad al-Ma'múní (cf. *Bundárit*, p. 9, ll. 9–10) with a favourable reply to Ṭughril at Ray. There the ambassador abode for three years, Ṭughril being too busy with the organization of his newly acquired territories to accompany him to Baghdad; until, in A.H. 437 (= A.D. 1045–6: cf. *Bundárit*, p. 9, l. 5), the Caliph ordered Ṭughril's name to be inserted in the *khutba* and placed on the coinage (in other words recognized his sovereign rank) before the name of the Buwayhid Amír al-Maliku'r-Raḥím Abú Naṣr b. Abi'l-Hayjá *Sultánu'd-Dawla*, the grandson of 'Aḍudu'd-Dawla (cf. *Bundárit*, p. 10, ll. 18–19), besides conferring on him the ambiguous² title of *Yamínu Amiri'l-Múminín*, lately borne by Maḥmúd of Ghazna. In Ramadán of this same year (A.H. 437 = March–April, A.D. 1046) Ṭughril Beg went to Baghdad, and was received by the Caliph with great honour. Al-Maliku'r-Raḥím the Buwayhid came out to meet him at Nahruwán, but was seized by the Seljúq and sent in fetters to Ṭabarak near Ray (cf. *Bundárit*, p. 10, ll. 18–20). Ṭughril's authority over the two 'Iráqs and Kúhistán was confirmed by the Caliph.

In A.H. 449 (= A.D. 1057–8) the Isfahsalár Basásirí (Abu'l-Háarith Arslán: see *Bundárit*, p. 12, ll. 18–19) revolted against the Caliph, who craved help from Ṭughril, on whose approach the rebels fled to Syria. On the march

¹ Cf. Houtsma's note on p. 8 of *Bundárit*. Both spellings, *اينال* and *ينال*, occur in our MS.

² Cf. my edition of *Dawlateháh*, pp. 34–35.

Ibráhím b. Ynál turned back with treasonable intentions to Hamadhán, but Tughril pursued, overtook and slew him (cf. *Bundárit*, p. 15). On Tughril's retiring from Baghdad, Basásirí returned, reinforced by the King of Mawsil (قرواش بن المقلد), Quraysh b. Badrán, and Dubays b. 'Alí b. Mazyad (cf. *Bundárit*, p. 12), foully slew the *Ra'isu'r-ru'asá*, maltreated the Caliph, and for a year caused the name of the "Egyptians" (i.e. the Fátimide al-Mustansir) to be inserted in the *khutba* (cf. *Bundárit*, p. 15, l. 19 seq.). But the discontent of the people of Baghdad against Basásirí increased; their governor (*Shahna*), Ytkín Sulaymání, fled to Hulwán and wrote an appeal to Tughril; to whom also the Caliph, banished to 'Ana and placed in the custody of Bughrí Muhárish (*Bundárit*, p. 16, ll. 18-19), addressed a prayer for succour, saying :—

اللّٰه اللّٰه سليمانى را درياب كه دشمن لعين مستولى شد و شعار
قرمطيان ظاهر گردانيد

Moved by these letters (f. 47^b), Tughril bade Abú Naṣr al-Kundurí '*Amidu'l-Mulk* write to Ytkín (*Bundárit*, pp. 44, 80) to hold the roads and passes and inform the Caliph of his speedy approach. The '*Amid* summoned Ṣafí Abu'l-'Alá (حسوك or حسول), and commanded him to write a letter to the Caliph conveying this news in the briefest and most impressive message, whereupon he wrote (Qur'án, xxvii, 37):—

لَمْ يَجْعِ إِلَيْهِمْ فَلَنَأْتِيَنَّهُمْ بِجُنُودٍ لَا قِبَلَ لَهُمْ بِهَا وَلَنُخْرِجَنَّهُمْ مِنْهَا أَدْلَى
وَهُمْ صَاغِرُونَ

The Sultán, delighted at this apposite quotation,¹ richly rewarded the scribe. Then, marching on Baghdad, he took Basásirí prisoner, beheaded him, and exposed his head on a pole. Then (A.H. 451, Dhu'l-Hijja = January, A.D. 1060)

¹ Similar instances of the employment of texts of the Qur'án to convey the purport of an official dispatch will be found in the first discourse of the *Chahár Maqála*, e.g. p. 27 of the separate reprint of my translation (= *J.R.A.S.* for 1899, p. 639).

he brought the Caliph back to Baghdad from 'Ána, and in reward for this service (f. 48^a) received the title of *Ruknu'd-Din* over and above that of *Ruknu'd-Dawla*, which had already been conferred upon him. Tughril, desiring some more substantial reward, sent the 'Amid to ask the Caliph for grants of land and estates, but the latter, while on his way to proffer this request, met the Caliph's minister coming to Tughril to offer the same spontaneously. On receiving these grants, Tughril withdrew to Tabríz, leaving the 'Amid at Baghdad to endeavour to arrange a marriage between him and the Caliph's sister Sayyidatu'n-Nisá. In spite of his aversion, the Caliph was finally compelled to give his consent to this union, and, bestowing on his sister "Fátima's dowry" of 400 silver *dirhams* and one gold *dinár*, sent her to Tabríz, which was decorated in her honour (شهر آدین بستند). The marriage was intended to be celebrated at Ray, the capital, but on the way thither, in Ramadán, A.H. 455 (=September, A.D. 1063), Tughril was taken ill and died in the village of Tajrisht near Ray: — بقصران بیرونی بدری بدیه طجریشت (cf. *Bundárt*, pp. 26–27). The Caliph's sister, with her dowry, was brought back to Baghdad.

3. *Reign of Alp Arslán* (ff. 50^b–53^a).

His full name and title was *as-Sultánu'l-A'dham 'Aqudu'd-Dawla Abú Shuja' Alp Arslán Muḥammad b. Dá'úd b. Miká'il b. Seljúq*. He reigned twelve years after the death of his uncle Tughril Beg in A.H. 455, and two years before that, after the death of his father, Chaghri Beg Dá'úd, in Khurásán. He was born on the eve of Friday, Muḥarram 2, A.H. 431 (=Sept. 23, A.D. 1039), and was 34 years of age when he died. His chief minister was the celebrated Nidhāmu'l-Mulk al-Ḥasan b. 'Alí b. Isháq. His chamberlains were Bakrak (بكرک) and 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān al-Aghájí. His motto was "God giveth victory" (ينصر الله). In appearance he was tall, with moustaches so long that he used to tie up

their ends when he wished to shoot; and never did his arrows go wide of the mark. He used to wear a very high *kuláh* on his head, and men were wont to assert that from the top of his *kuláh* to the tips of his moustaches was a distance of two yards (*gaz*)!

Immediately on his accession Alp Arslán dismissed the 'Amíd from the post of Prime Minister, and appointed the Nidhámú'l-Mulk to this office. For some months he carried the dismissed minister from place to place with himself, but in A.H. 456 (=A.D. 1064) he caused him to be executed at Nasá in Khurásán, being instigated thereto by the Nidhámú'l-Mulk. Having prepared himself for death, the unfortunate 'Amíd sent the following messages to the King and to his successful rival (f. 51*) :—

سلطان را بگوی اینت خجسته خدمتی که بر من خدمت شما
 بون، عمت این جهان بمن داد تا بران حکم کردم و تو آن جهانم
 دانی شهادتم روزی کردی، پس از خدمت شما دنیا و آخرت
 یافتم، و وزیرا بگوی که بد بدعتی و زشت قاعدتی در جهان
 آوردی بوزیر کشتن، ارجو که این سئت در حق خویشتن
 و اعقاب باز بینی

"Say to the King, 'Behold, a fortunate employ was your service! Thy uncle gave me this world to rule over, and thou hast given me the other world, making martyrdom my portion! So, by your service, have I won this world and that.' And to the *Wazir* say, 'An evil innovation and an ugly practice hast thou brought into the world by putting [dismissed] ministers to death! I trust that thou wilt see the same renewed in thine own case and in that of thy descendants!'"

After subduing Párs and overcoming the Shabánkára (f. 51*), Alp Arslán marched westwards to give battle to the Byzantine emperor Romanus (ارمانوس), who, with 600,000 men, was threatening the frontiers of the Muslims.

The two forces met at Malázkurd (so pointed, ملازكرد). Before engaging the enemy, Alp Arslán reviewed his forces, which comprised 12,000 men. At this review the Amír Sa'du'd - Dawla Guhar - áyín noticed a very insignificant Greek soldier whose name no one knew. Some of the officers were for rejecting him, but the Amír bade them let him be, "for who knows," said he, "that he may not be destined to take captive the Emperor of the Greeks?" By the strangest of coincidences this actually happened. Alp Arslán kept the Emperor prisoner for a few days, and then, having placed rings in his ears (the mark of a slave), released him, on his agreeing to pay a daily tribute (جزیت) of 1,000 *dinárs*.

Now in the year A.H. 465 (=A.D. 1072-3: cf. *Bundárit*, p. 46) Alp Arslán marched against the Turks. On reaching the Oxus some prisoners taken from the Castle of Narzam (نرزم), including the Warden of the Castle, Yúsuf Narzamí, were brought before him. Being interrogated by the Sultán, Yúsuf returned false and unsatisfactory answers, which so infuriated Alp Arslán that he seized his bow, and, bidding the prisoner's custodians stand clear, fired at him. The arrow missed its mark, and Yúsuf rushed upon the King, and, wounding the Amír Sa'du'd-Dawla Guhar-áyín, who had thrown himself before his royal master, dealt him a mortal blow, though 2,000 *ghuláms* were standing by and looking on. Only after the assassination had been accomplished did the chief *farrásh*, Jámí' of Níshápúr, slay the assassin with a blow on the head from his mallet.

سر الب ارسلان دیدی ز رفعت رفته برگردون

بمرو آی تا بخاک اندر تن الب ارسلان بینی

In the reign of Alp Arslán's successor, Maliksháh, the son of this *farrásh* was slain by one of the Caliph al-Muqtadí's *ghuláms*, who then took refuge in the Caliph's harem. The *farrásh* clamoured for vengeance, crying, "O sire! deal with the murderer of thy slave's son as I dealt with thy father's murderer!" Maliksháh, considering this demand

to be just, sent his chamberlain Amír Qumáj to demand the surrender of the assassin. The Caliph offered 10,000 *dinárs* if they would refrain from violating the sanctuary which the criminal had sought, but Maliksháh was obdurate, and the murderer was brought forth and put to death. Alp Arslán left nine sons besides Maliksháh, who succeeded him.

4. *Reign of Maliksháh* (ff. 54^a–58^b).

His full name and title was *as-Sultán Mu'izzu'd-Dunyá wa'd-Din Maliksháh b. Muḥammad Alp Arslán Qasimu Amiri'l-Múminín*. He was born in Jumáda I, A.H. 445 (= Aug.–Sept., A.D. 1053), lived 38 and reigned 20 years. He was of somewhat corpulent figure. His Prime Minister, until almost the end of his reign, was the Nidhámú'l-Mulk, and his chamberlain Qumáj (f. 54^b).

While Maliksháh was on his way from Khurásán to 'Iráq to assume the reins of government, his uncle Qáwurd advanced against him from Kirmán. The two armies met at the gates of Karach (بدر كرج: cf. *Bundárit*, p. 48 et seqq., and also vol. i of the same *Recueil*, p. 12 et seqq.), and the battle endured three days and nights, until at length Qáwurd and his army were routed. One of Maliksháh's champions cut one of his adversaries clean in two. The booty taken by the victors was enormous. Maliksháh's soldiers, on their return to Hamadhán, clamoured for more pay and richer rewards, threatening to support Qáwurd in his pretensions if their demands were not complied with. The Nidhámú'l-Mulk, however, put them off with promises, and at once caused Qáwurd to be poisoned and two of his sons to be blinded; and the mutineers, on hearing of Qáwurd's "suicide," were quieted.

In A.H. 471 (= A.D. 1078–9) Maliksháh captured Samargand and took its Khán prisoner (cf. *Bundárit*, p. 55). The Nidhámú'l-Mulk pays the boatmen who take Maliksháh over the Oxus in drafts on Antioch, and explains to the

King that he does this so that they may realize the greatness of his empire. The author adds :—

دریغا آن روزگار که وزرا جنان فاضل و دانا و عاقل و توانا بودند
و کار وزارت این ساعت بشاگرد غلامی آمدست هرج عوان تر
وجوه انگیز تر

On the occasion of his second march from Ūzkand to Antioch, Maliksháh visited Latakia (لاذقیه), where, riding his horse into the waters of the Mediterranean, he thanked God for the vastness of his dominions. To his retainers he gave fiefs in the remotest part of Syria, e.g., to Qasímu'd-Dawla Āq-sunqur in Aleppo, to 'Imádu'd-Dawla Búzhán in Ruhá, and to جكرمش in Mawşil (cf. *Bundári*, p. 70). From Antioch he marched to Samarqand, where he took prisoner Sulaymán Khán; thence onwards to Ūzkand, Khaṭá, and Khutan (f. 56^b). He maintained an army of 46,000 regular troops, whose names were all recorded in the registers of his War Office. The administration of justice he carefully supervised, and he was always accessible to such as deemed themselves oppressed or wronged. Amongst the monuments of his piety and philanthropy are the wells which he constructed on the pilgrim-route, and the endowments he bestowed on the Warden of the Sacred Cities of Mecca and Medina (امیر الحرمین) in order that pilgrims might be exempt from the poll-tax of seven gold *dinārs* hitherto levied on each. He was devoted to the chase, and for every head of game which he slew he used to bestow a Maghribí *dinār* on some poor man. He caused a careful record of his bags of game to be kept; such a record, in the handwriting of Abú Ṭáhir al-Khátúní, was seen by the author, and therein it was recorded that in one day's hunting Maliksháh shot 70 gazelles :—

و سلطان از لهو و تماشا شکار دوست داشتی و بخط ابو طاهر خاتونی
شکارنامه اودیدم آورده بود که سلطان یک روز هفتاد آهو بتیر بزد

Everywhere on his hunting-grounds he built pyramids of the hoofs of the gazelles and wild asses which he had slain.

Iṣfahán was his favourite residence,¹ and there he constructed many fine buildings and gardens, such as the Bágh-i-Karán, the Baytu'l-Má ('Water-house'), the Bágh-i-Aḥmad Siyáh,² the Bágh-i-Dasht-i-Gúr ('Garden of the Plain of the Wild Ass'), the Qal'a-i-Shahr, and the Qal'a-i-Diz-Kúh.

His Prime Minister, the great Nidhámu'l-Mulk, had twelve sons, each of whom held some government office. Turkán Khátún (f. 57^b), the daughter of Tamgháj Khán, who enjoyed an immense influence over Maliksháh, conceived the idea of displacing him in favour of her own minister Táju'l-Mulk Abu'l-Ghaná'im-i-Pársí, and finally succeeded in persuading the King to make this change of ministers. Her hatred of the Nidhám was due to the fact that she desired her young son Maḥmúd to be nominated by Maliksháh as his successor, while the Nidhám espoused the cause of the Prince Barkiyáruq. The following rash speech of the Nidhám to his royal master is said to have served in some degree as the pretext for his dismissal:—

آنکه ترا تاج داد دستار بر سر من نهاد هر دو درهم بسته اند و باهم پیوسته

About this time Maliksháh set out from Iṣfahán for Baghdad (f. 58^b), and when the royal cavalcade reached Nahávand one of the Assassins (ملاحده), incited thereto by the Táju'l-Mulk, mortally wounded the Nidhám (a deed, adds the author, which no good Muslim would have done), who was then "over eighty years of age." "Thou would'st suppose," says our author, "that this word of his (cited above) was an omen, for the King too died eighteen days after he reached Baghdad"; and he then cites the celebrated verses of Mu'izzí (cf. my ed. of Dawlatsháh, p. 60):—

¹ Cf. *J.R.A.S.* for 1901, pp. 667-8.

² Cf. *J.R.A.S.* for 1901, p. 421.

رفت دریگ مه بفر دوس برین دستور پیر
 شاه بُرنا از پس او رفت در ماه دگر
 کرد ناگه قهر یزدان عجز سلطان آشکار
 عجز سلطانی ببین و قهر یزدانی نگر

At the end of his reign, moreover, Maliksháh changed all his ministers, and this "was not blessed to him." Thus the Nidhámu'l-Mulk was replaced by Táju'l-Mulk, Kamálu'd-Dín Abu'r-Ridá al-'Arid by Sadídu'l-Mulk Abu'l-Ma'álí, and Sharafu'l-Mulk Abú Sa'd Mustawfí by Majdu'l-Mulk Abu'l-Faql of Qum, whom Abú Táhír Khátúní thus coarsely satirized :—

می بنازد ببخل مجد الملک ' جون بکاورس گُرسنه قُمری
 گر همه قُمیان جنین باشند ' قُم رفیقا و بر همه قُم ری

These changes in the ministry are summed up by the poet 'Bu'l-Ma'álí (بُلْمَعَالِی) Nahhás in the following lines (of which *Bundárit*, p. 63, gives an Arabic prose translation) :—

ز بو علی بُد و از بورضا و از بوسعد
 شها که شیر ببیش تو همجو میش آمد
 در آن زمانه زهر کامذی بدرگه تو
 مبشر ظفر و فتح نامه بیش آمد
 ز بُلْفَضایل و بُلْفَتْح و بُلْمَعَالِی باز
 زمین مملکت را نبات نیش آمد
 گراز نظام و کمال و شرف تو سیر شدی
 ز تاج و مجد و سدیدت نگر چه بیش آمد

5. *Reign of Barkiyáruq* (ff. 59^b–63^b).

His full name and title was *as-Sultānu'l-Mu'adhham Ruknu'd-Dunyá wa'd-Dīn Abu'l-Mudhaffar Barkiyáruq b. Maliksháh Yamīnu Amīri'l-Mūminīn*. He was of very handsome appearance; he succeeded to the throne in A.H. 486 (=A.D. 1093), reigned 12 years and lived¹ 25. He was born at Iṣfahān in Muḥarram, A.H. 474 (= June–July, A.D. 1081). His motto (توقيع) was اعتمادي على الله. His prime ministers were al-Husayn 'Izzu'l-Mulk b. Nidhāmu'l-Mulk, Abú Bakr Mu'ayyidu'l-Mulk b. Nidhāmu'l-Mulk, Fakhru'l-Mulk b. Nidhāmu'l-Mulk, A'azzu'l-Mulk, 'Abdu'l-Jalīl ad-Dahistānī, and Majdu'l-Mulk 'Bu'l-Faḍl al-Qummī. His chamberlains were the Amīr Qumāj, Ṭughān يركت, and 'Abdu'l-Malik.

At the time of his father's death Barkiyáruq (the eldest son, though hardly yet 13 years of age) was at Iṣfahān. Turkān Khātūn, who was at Baghdad, besought the Caliph to give the crown to her own son Maḥmūd, but the Caliph at first refused on the ground of the child's tender age. The Caliph, however, had a son by Maliksháh's sister Mah-Malik Khātūn, named Amīr Ja'far, whose help, by bribes and flattery, Turkān Khātūn succeeded in gaining, so that the Caliph at length acceded to her desire. Thereupon she at once despatched Amīr Búghá to Iṣfahān (which he reached in one week from Baghdad) to seize Barkiyáruq (f. 60^a), whom, however, the Nidhāmu'l-Mulk's sons concealed, protected, and carried off under cover of darkness to Sáwa and Ába, whence Gumush-Tagin the *jándār* (cf. *Bundāri*, pp. 83–4) conveyed him to Ray, and there proclaimed him king. At the time of his coronation Barkiyáruq was not 13 years of age, and the bejewelled crown was suspended over his head (being too heavy for him to wear)¹ by Abú Muslim, the governor (رئيس) of Ray, while nearly 20,000 troops assembled at the gates of Ray to defend his cause.

¹ Cf. Ibn Hishām's *Biography of the Prophet*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 42.

Meanwhile Turkán Khátún, accompanied by her son Maḥmúd, occupied Iṣfahán. Barkiyáruq marched against her. Her advisers, Majdu'l-Mulk of Qum, Táju'l-Mulk Abu'l-Ghaná'im, the *Iṣfahsálár* Amír Unrú Bulká¹ Beg, agreed to give Barkiyáruq 500,000 *dinárs* as his share of the inheritance on condition of his raising the siege. On receiving this sum Barkiyáruq retired to Hamadhán, whereupon Turkán Khátún again began to intrigue against him, promising his maternal uncle Malik Isma'íl that if he could defeat Barkiyáruq she would marry him. Accordingly, early in A.H. 486 (= A.D. 1093) Malik Isma'íl gave battle to Barkiyáruq at Karach, but was defeated.—Zubayda Khátún, the mother of Barkiyáruq, is put to death (cf. *Bundári*, pp. 83 and 87).—Barkiyáruq's uncle Tutush b. Alp Arslán revolts, and marches on Kúhistán (cf. *Bundári*, pp. 84–5).—Turkán Khátún is put to death by Barkiyáruq in Ramadhán, A.H. 487 (= Sept.–Oct., A.D. 1094).—Barkiyáruq, overcome by his uncle Tutush, surrenders (f. 61^a) to his brother Maḥmúd, who receives him at Iṣfahán with apparent kindness. He is imprisoned by Unrú Bulká in the Kúshk-i-Maydán, and it is decided to blind him, but at this juncture Maḥmúd is attacked by the smallpox (الْبَلَّةُ), and the *amirs* determined to await the issue of the disease, which terminates fatally the same week, whereupon they again place Barkiyáruq upon the throne. At this juncture Mu'ayyidu'l-Mulk, son of the Nidhámú'l-Mulk, arrived from Khurásán, and was made Prime Minister. Barkiyáruq in turn was attacked by the smallpox, so that his life was despaired of, but he recovered, marched on Hamadhán, and in Šafar, A.H. 488 (= Feb.–March, A.D. 1095), fought a battle with his uncle Tutush. Fakhru'l-Mulk, another son of the Nidhámú'l-Mulk, arrived from Khurásán bringing many fine presents, and was made Prime Minister. Barkiyáruq was wounded by one of the Assassins (ملاحدة), but recovered, and marched on Khurásán against his uncle Arslán Arghún, sending his

¹ Pointing and pronunciation uncertain; here written انروبلكا, lower (f. 61^b) أنر and (f. 62^b) أنر.

brother Sinjar and the Atábek Qumáj on in advance (A.H. 489=A.D. 1095), but (f. 61^b) ere the hostile forces met, Arslán Arghún was stabbed to death by a slave-boy at Merv (*Bundárit*, pp. 256-8). Barkiyáruq then came to Tirmidh, made his brother Sinjar king over Khurásán, and returned to 'Iráq.

Unrú Bulká next revolted, instigated thereunto by the Mu'ayyidu'l-Mulk (whom Barkiyáruq had then just dismissed from the office of Prime Minister), who said to him, "How art thou less than Maḥmúd, the son of Turkán Khátún, seeing that Maliksháh loved thee above all his sons?" Unrú, however, was assassinated by one of the *Maláḥida* at Injíláwand near Sáwa, and the Mu'ayyidu'l-Mulk, unable to remain in 'Iráq or Khurásán on account of the treason he had committed and the enmity of the powerful Majdu'l-Mulk, fled to Ganja (*Bundárit*, p. 87) to Barkiyáruq's brother Muḥammad, whom he urged to contest the crown with Barkiyáruq. Accordingly, in A.H. 492 (= A.D. 1098-9) they marched forth from Ganja towards Kúhistán, whither Barkiyáruq, accompanied by Majdu'l-Mulk Abu'l-Faḍl of Qum, had come from Khurásán. Now Barkiyáruq's troops conceived a great hatred of this minister, and sought his life, so that he took refuge in the King's tent; but, seeing the furious persistence of his foes, he at last advised his master to surrender him to them. This the Sultán refused to do, but the soldiers broke into the tent, dragged out the unfortunate minister by his beard, and tore him in pieces. The *Ákhur-beg* (Master of the horse) Ynánj Payghú, who, with the sons of the Amír Isfahsálár Bursuq (see Houtsma's note on *Bundárit*, p. 70: the name is unpointed in our MS.), had instigated the murder, now advised Barkiyáruq to flee, and he accordingly left the camp for Ray, accompanied only by ten or fifteen personal attendants. Muḥammad his brother, accompanied by his minister Mu'ayyidu'l-Mulk (f. 63^a), came to the gates of Hamadhán and proclaimed himself king (*panj nawbat zad*). Barkiyáruq gathered an army from Khurásán, Gurgán, and Ray, marched against his brother Muḥammad, defeated him, and took prisoner

Mu'ayyidu'l-Mulk, who, when he had lain some days in prison, offered Barkiyáruq 100,000 *dínars* to release him and make him Prime Minister. Barkiyáruq consented to this, and the minister was engaged in raising the required sum of money, when one day one of the King's footmen (طشت دار), thinking that his master was taking his noon-tide siesta, uttered a disparaging comment on the lack of zeal (حمیت) of the Seljúqs which could condone such treachery and double dealing as that of which the Mu'ayyidu'l-Mulk had been guilty. Barkiyáruq heard this remark, came forth from his chamber, and ordered the Mu'ayyidu'l-Mulk to be brought before him, blindfolded and seated in a chair. Then with his own hand he severed the traitor's head from his body, and, turning to the footman, said, "Thou seest the zeal of the Seljúqs!"

6. *Reign of Muḥammad b. Maliksháh* (ff. 64^b–69^a).

His full name and title was *as-Sultán Ghiyáthu'd-Dunyá wa'd-Dín Abú Shujá' Muḥammad¹ b. Maliksháh Qasimu Amiri'l-Múminín*. He was born in Sha'bán, A.H. 474 (= January, A.D. 1082), lived 37 years, and reigned 13, succeeding to the throne in A.H. 498 (A.D. 1104–5) on the death of his brother Barkiyáruq. His motto (توقيع) was استعنت بالله. His ministers (f. 65^a) were Mu'ayyidu'l-Mulk b. Nidhāmu'l-Mulk (before his undisputed accession), Khaṭīru'l-Mulk Abú Maṣṣūr al-Maybudhī, Sa'du'l-Mulk al-Abbī, Aḥmad Nidhāmu'l-Mulk b. Nidhāmu'l-Mulk, and Rabību'd-Dawla Abú Maṣṣūr al-Qiráṭī. His chamberlains were 'Abdu'l-Malik, 'Umar Qarātagín, and 'Alí Bár. He was a vehement champion of the Faith, and a relentless foe to the heretical Isma'ílís (ملاحدة) and to all such as favoured or sympathized with them. To the reduction of Diz-kúh, one of their strongholds near Isfahán (identical² with Sháh-diz

¹ Added in margin: هو محمد الملقب بطبر.

² This is definitely stated on f. 66^a:

قلعه دزکوه که سلطان ملکشاه بنا فرموده بود و شاه دز نام نهاده

of *Bundári*, p. 90), he devoted seven years; and, remarks our author:—

هرک دژکوه بر در اصفهان دید داند که آن بادشاه در فتح آن قلعه
و قمع آن طایفه چه رنج دیده باشد و چه سختی کشیده

At the beginning of his reign he had to go to Baghdad (f. 65^b) to fight Šadaqa¹ and Ayáz, sons of one of Barkiyáruq's clients, who had revolted against him. The rebels, terrified by heavenly portents, were defeated, Šadaqa killed in battle, and Ayáz taken prisoner and put to death. Šadaqa's head was sent to the King's brother Sinjar in Khurásán.

During the fratricidal quarrels of Muḥammad and Barkiyáruq, the Assassins, or *Malāhida*, had increased greatly in strength, and to their extirpation the King now devoted his energies. The following interesting passage (f. 66) concerning the wholesale abductions and murders alleged to have been committed by them in Iṣfahán may be compared with *Bundári*, pp. 90 et seqq.:—

¹ Cf. pp. 102–104 (Anecdote xxix) of my translation of the *Chahár Maqála*. For the following valuable note I am indebted to Mr. T. A. Archer. "As to one of the people mentioned in your translation," he writes, "I can possibly give you a little information that may be new to you. I refer to the Šadaqa on pp. 102–3 [of the *Chahár Maqála*], who is there called by the strange title of 'King of the Arabs.' This is, I think, beyond any doubt 'Sadaka' (or 'Sadaca,' as the French translations spell the word), lord of Hillah, and, according to one thirteenth-century Arabic historian, if my memory does not fail me, 'founder' (*sic*) of that place. He was a most remarkable man, very famous for his love of letters and his large collection of books; a collection all the more remarkable in that, if my memory does not fail me again, he could not, according to the same Arabic chronicler, read himself. He appears to have been somewhat of a heretic (a Shiíte, I suppose), and died in battle against the 'Abbásid Caliph and Muḥammad the Sultan early in March, A.D. 1108 (March 4 or 5, according to my calculation). The Arabic chroniclers, if I remember right, speak of him as Nidhámí does, by the strange title 'King of the Arabs,' and, what is more curious still, the title 'King of the Arabs' passed on to his son, the still more famous Dubays, who figures more than once in actual crusading history as warring against the Norman Crusaders in the principality of Antioch, many of these Normans being—to judge from their sur-names—members of well-known English families (I mean of Norman families settled in England). Walter, the Chancellor of Antioch, who was actually taken prisoner by Dubays and his allies in A.D. 1119, always speaks of Dubays as 'rex Arabum' (Nidhámí's title for his father); and even William of Tyre, writing about 60 years later, knew that he was an Arab chief, for he refers to him as 'satrapa potentissimus Arabum.' I may add that you will find a fairly detailed account of Šadaqa himself in Ibnul-'Athír, under, I believe, the year A.H. 501."

"There was at Iṣfahán a certain literary man (*adib*) called 'Abdu'l-Malik 'Aṭṭásh (عطاش). Being from the first in the Shí'ite connection, he became suspected [of being in sympathy with the *Maláḥida*], and the clergy (ائمه) of Iṣfahán pursued and sought to persecute him. He fled to Ray, and there joined himself to Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbáḥ. . . . Thereafter there was found in his handwriting a letter which he had written to a friend, wherein occurred the expression, 'I have fallen on the Grey Falcon, and this hath compensated me for what I have left behind'—

وَقَعْتُ بِالْبَازِ الْأَشْهَبِ فَكَانَ عِوَضًا لِي عَمَّا خَلَفْتُهُ

"Now his handwriting is well known, and there [still] exist at Iṣfahán many books written in his hand. And this 'Abdu'l-Malik had a son called Aḥmad, who during his father's time was a linen-merchant (*kərbás-furúshí kardi*), and professed to hold in detestation his father's sect and doctrine, in which he renounced all part or share. So, when his father fled, they did him no hurt.

"Now in the Castle of Dizkúh, which was built by Sultán Maliksháh and named Sháh-diz, were placed, during the absence of the King, the [royal] treasure and armoury, and likewise the young page-boys (وشاقان) and girls of the Palace; and a company of Daylamites kept guard over the Castle. There this Aḥmad, the son of 'Abdu'l-Malik, introduced himself in the capacity of teacher to the page-boys, and whenever he came into the town he used to buy for the girls clothing, veils, and other women's gear; and he used to hold private conferences with the Daylamites, for whom he professed friendship. These were themselves [already] prone to the matter; all of them responded to his propaganda, and he then became the governor of the Castle and they his subjects.

"Thereafter he constructed a 'Mission-house' (*da'wat-khāna*) at the very gates of the city, near the Dasht-i-Gúr, whither nightly a company would repair from the town (f. 66^b), absorb his teaching, and make profession of his

doctrines, until every class had established in its own quarter a congregation imbued with this heresy, whom they then presented at the 'Mission-house,' till 30,000 men had accepted the propaganda. And they used to kidnap Musulmáns and do them to death.

"About this time there appeared a blind man called 'Alawí Madaní (علوی مدانی), who, towards nightfall, used to stand at the end of his street with a staff in his hand, crying, 'May God pardon him who will take the hand of this poor blind man and lead him to the door of his dwelling in this lane!' Now the lane was long and dark, having at its end the Saráy-i-Gúr, and in the porch of this building was a well. And when [the victim] had brought 'Alí [or 'Alawí, as he was called previously] to the door of the building, a gang [of the heretics] would seize him, drag him within, and cast him head downwards into the well, whence passages communicated with the cellars. Four or five months passed in this fashion, and a large number of the young men of the city disappeared, for none won forth thence, nor could tidings be obtained of either living or dead. . . .

"One day a beggar-woman craved an alms at this house. Hearing a groaning, she exclaimed, 'May God heal your sick!' . . . The inmates of the house, fearing lest she should become cognizant of their doings, sought, on the pretext of giving her food, to inveigle her within; but she, being alarmed, fled. Meeting some people at the end of the street, she said to them, 'From such and such a house I heard a horrible wailing, and some people endeavoured to seize me.' . . . Then a turmoil arose, and crowds of people assembled outside the door of the house, and, effecting an entrance, began to search its every nook and corner. Ultimately they found their way to the cellars, where they beheld four or five hundred men or more, some slain and others crucified against the walls, of whom two or three still breathed. This being noised abroad through the city, men flocked thither, each to find some friend or kinsman, and there fell upon Isfahán lamentation and wailing, the

like of which none can describe. Then they seized 'Alawí Madaní and his wife, sought out their accomplices, and burned him and his wife in the Bazaar of the Army."

Now Sa'du'l-Mulk, the minister, was suspected of sympathizing with the Assassins by many of the nobles and some of the clergy of Isfahán, such as the Chief Qádí 'Ubaydu'lláh Khaṭībī and Ṣadru'd-Dín Khujandí, but though these suspicions were on several occasions communicated to the King, he refused to credit them, having entire confidence in the accused. But Sa'du'l-Mulk¹ had a chamberlain who was acquainted with his most hidden secrets, and from whom he concealed nothing. And when the siege of Dizkúh had continued for a long while, Aḥmad b. 'Aṭṭásh, the chief of the Assassins, sent a message to Sa'du'l-Mulk, saying, "Our stores are nearly at an end, and our men are weary of fighting: we desire to surrender the Castle." But Sa'du'l-Mulk sent answer, "Be patient for one week and do not surrender, till we overthrow this dog" (meaning the King). Now it was the King's custom to be bled once every month, and Sa'du'l-Mulk bribed the phlebotomist with a thousand *dinárs* to use for the operation a poisoned lancet.² This plot was communicated by his chamberlain to his beautiful wife, who communicated it to her paramour (مول), who told one of the officers of Sharafu'l-Islám, by whom it was made known to the King. So next day the King, feigning illness, sent for the phlebotomist, and caused him to be scratched with his own lancet; whereupon, the poison taking effect, he turned black and died in agony. Next day the King hanged Sa'du'l-Mulk and Abu'l-'Alá [b.] Mufaddal. Two days later Aḥmad b. 'Aṭṭásh surrendered the Castle of Dizkúh. His hands were bound, and, mounted on a camel, he was paraded through the streets of Isfahán, where more than a hundred thousand men, women, and children turned out to

¹ The MS. reads *Mu'ayyidu'l-Mulk*, but this must be an error. See p. 604 *supra*.

² *Bundārī* (p. 92) regards all these charges against Sa'du'l-Mulk as mere calumnies.

see him, pelting him with dirt and dust, and mocking him in scornful ballads:—

.. با انواع نثار و خاشاک و سرگین و بشگل و خاکسترو مخمّثان
حراره کنان در بیش با طبل و دهل و دف و میگفتند (حراره) عطّاش
عالی جان من عطّاش عالی ' میان سر هلالی ' ترا بذر (بذر) جکارو '

Then he was crucified for seven days, and, as he hung there, they fired arrows at him (*tir-bárán-ash kardand*),¹ and afterwards burned his body.

شخصی در آن حالت از وی برسیده بود (f. 68^a) كه تو علم مجوم
دعوی كنی در طالع خویش این روز نیافتی ' جواب داد كه در
احكام طالع خویش دیده بودم كه عظمتی و جلالتی در اصفهان روم
كه هیچ پادشاه مثل آن ندیده بود اما بدین صفت ندانستم² '

So the Castle of Dizkúh was dismantled, and Shír-gír was sent to attack Alamút, the headquarters of the Assassins. It also was on the point of surrendering when news arrived of the Sultán's death, and the siege was raised.

The deceased King, apart from his avarice, which was extreme, was a good ruler. When Aḥmad (f. 68^b) b. Nidhāmu'l-Mulk was *wazīr*, he prepared to attack Sayyid Abú Hāshim, the chief of Hamadhán, the grandfather of 'Alá'u'd-Dawla; and the minister was to pay the King 500,000 *dinārs* on condition that he might deal with the Sayyid as he pleased. The latter and his three sons, being informed of this arrangement, escaped from Hamadhán, and made their way in one week to Iṣfahán, where, by means of a courtier named Lálá Qarátagin, whom they bribed with 10,000 *dinārs*, they obtained by night a secret audience with the King, whose wife, Núrání Qutlugh Khátún, was also

¹ The same was done (but with bullets for arrows) to Mirzá 'Alí Muḥammad the Báb when he was put to death at Tabriz in the summer of 1850.

² This story is very well known, but the individual concerned is seldom named. It occurs in 'Awfī's *Jawdmī'u'l-Hikāyat*, and is cited from there in the chrestomathy at the end of Salemann and Zhukovski's *Persische Grammatik*.

present. The Sayyid then presented the King with a priceless pearl, and promised him 800,000 *dinārs* (f. 69^a) if he would spare him and protect him against his foe Aḥmad b. Nidhāmu'l-Mulk. Greed of money was stronger with the King than love for his minister, and the Sayyid, having received promise of protection, was suffered to depart. The 800,000 *dinārs*, laden on 40 mules, were duly sent by him to the King, who only bestowed one single *dinār* on the messenger who brought them.

(To be continued.)

ART. XXVII.—*Account of a rare, if not unique, manuscript History of the Seljûqs contained in the Schefer Collection lately acquired by the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and now described by* EDWARD G. BROWNE, M.A., M.R.A.S.

(Continued from p. 610, July Number.)

7. *Sinjar b. Maliksháh* (ff. 70^a–77^a).

His full name and title ran *as-Sulṭānu'l-A'dham Mu'izzu'd-Dunyá wa'd-Din Abu'l-Ḥārith Sinjar b. Maliksháh Burhānu Amri'l-Mūminīn*. His motto (*tauqī'*) was تَوَكَّلْتُ عَلَى اللَّهِ. His prime ministers were Mu'īnu'd-Dīn Mukhtaṣṣ of Kāshān, Shihābu'd-Dīn Abu'l-Mahāsīn b. al-Faqīhu'l-ajall (nephew of the Nidhāmu'l-Mulk), Sharafu'd-Dīn Abū Ṭāhir Māmīsā of Qum, Yaghān (يغان) b. al-Kāshgharī, Qiwāmu'd-Dīn Abu'l-Qāsim, and Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Ṭāhir b. Fakhru'l-Mulk. His chamberlains were the Amīr Ghuzughlū (غزغلی) of *Bundārt*, p. 185, l. 16, which has غَزَاغَلِي, Ḥusayn al-Ḥājib, Nidhāmu'd-Dīn Maḥmūd of Kāshān, and Falaku'd-Dīn 'Alī Chatrī (cf. *Bundārt*, p. 225, l. 1).

Alike in length of life and brilliant achievements Sinjar surpassed all the other Seljūq monarchs. From the time he was made king of Khurāsān by Barkiyāruq he effected, during a period of 40 years, nineteen conquests. He took Ghazna and made Bahrāmshāh king thereof, on the understanding that he should pay him 1,000 *dīnārs* a day (f. 71^a). He also took captive the king of Samarqand, for after Barkiyāruq's death Aḥmad Khān rebelled, but was defeated and taken prisoner in A.H. 524 (= A.D. 1130). He also took Sīstān and Khwārazm, and made Atsiz (or Utsuz, اُتْسُز, as it is here pointed) b. Muḥammad b. Nūshtagīn غَزْجِه ruler of the latter (Khwārazmshāh), and Tāju'd-Dīn Amīr Abu'l-Faḍl governor of Nīmruz and Zābulistān.

On the death of his brother Sultán Muḥammad in A.H. 511 (A.D. 1117-8) he came from Khurásán to 'Iráq, where his nephew Maḥmúd b. Muḥammad had been crowned king. Maḥmúd was persuaded by his nobles to attack his uncle, but was defeated, and fled to Iṣfahán. His governor, 'Alí Bár, sent his *kadkhudá* or steward, Abu'l-Qásim Anasábádí (آنسابادی), to Sinjar to apologize for his nephew's conduct, and it was agreed that Maḥmúd should wait on his uncle and remain with him a month, foregoing, during the whole of this period, the outward signs of sovereignty enumerated (f. 71^b) in the following words:—

.. بوقت بر نشستن و فروز آمدن بوق ترکی نزنند و سرپرده سرخ
 جهز می ندارند و بوقت بر نشستن و فروز آمدن عم بیاده در رکاب
 برون و آنچه شعارو آیین سلطنت است بگذارند

After Maḥmúd had thus humbled himself, Sinjar made him his vicegerent in 'Iráq.

So great were Sinjar's domains that his name was recited in the *khuṭba* in the mosques from Káshghar to Yaman, Mecca and Ṭá'if, and from Mukrán and 'Ummán to Adhar-bayján and the frontiers of Rúm, and continued to be so recited until a year after his death; yet he was simple and unostentatious in his dress and habits, wearing generally a *qubá* رندنجی. He was, moreover, virtuous and pious, and in his day Khurásán was the goal of the learned and the focus of culture and science.

In the year A.H. [5]35 (= A.D. 1140-1), however, when Sinjar went from Merv to Samarqand, the pagans of Khaṭá (Cathay) began to harry the land, and anarchy to prevail in Transoxania, so that men accounted death a blessing:—

کفی بک داء آن تری الموت شافیا

The invaders (of the خیل خرتق) numbered 30,000 or 40,000 men, and the army of Khurásán was entirely routed by these pagan hordes, who slew 3,000 or 4,000 people, including many men of note. Táju'd-Dín Abu'l-Faḍl

advised Sinjar to flee, but he, with 300 knights, attacked the heathen with great valour, emerging from the conflict with only fifteen survivors. After this Sinjar fled to Balkh and occupied the fortress of Tirmidh (f. 72*), where he was gradually joined by the survivors of his army. The poet Farid-i-Kátib (or *Farid-i-dabir*, as he is here called) sought to console the King for his recent reverse by the following well-known quatrain¹:—

شاه ز ستان تو جهانی شد راست
 تیغ تو چهل سال از اعدا کین خواست
 گر چشم بزی رسید آن هم ز قضاست
 آنکس که بیک حال بماندست خداست

When Sinjar fled, Táju'd-Dín, king of Nímruz, stood his ground and fought with such valour that the heathen of Cathay were filled with astonishment and admiration, and, when they had taken him captive, brought him before the Ilkhán (الخان), who kept him with himself for a year, and treated him with kindness and consideration. At the end of this period both he and the Queen Turkán Khátún (who had also been taken prisoner) were sent back to Sinjar.

During the anarchy caused by Sinjar's defeat, Atsiz Khwárazmsháh (here printed *Atsus*, اتسنز) behaved extremely ill, and seized the occasion to loot and plunder Merv and Nishápúr; and when Sinjar sent him an arrow on which were inscribed some well-known and oft-cited verses, he despatched in reply the following lines²:—

اگر باز پایست رخس ملک، کمیت مرا پای هم لنگ نیست
 تو اینجا بیانی من آنجا روم، خدای جهان را جهان تنگ نیست

¹ See my edition of *Dawlatabáh*, p. 107.

² These are quoted in a fuller and somewhat different form in the *Tárikh-i-Gusida*, in the section dealing with the Khwárazmsháhs. A well-known parody on them by 'Ubayd-i-Zakání will be found at p. 290, ll. 4-5, of my ed. of *Dawlatabáh*.

Seven years later, when Sinjar was at Ray (cf. *Bundārī*, p. 224), Sultān Mas'ūd came to pay his respects to him, and at the audience the head of Súrī, king of Ghúr, sent from Ghazna [by Bahrámsháh], was laid before him. On this occasion Faríd-i-Kátib composed the following quatrain:—

آنها که بخدمت نفاق آوردند، سر جمله عمر خویش طاق آوردند
دور از سر تو سام بسرام بمرد، و اینک سر سوری بعراق آوردند

The Sám to whom allusion is here made was the brother of [Sayfu'd-Dín] Súrī, king of Ghúr. Sinjar remained at Ray for thirteen days to renew and ratify his treaty with Mas'ūd, on whom and the Amírs of 'Iráq he conferred robes of honour.

In Ramaḍán, A.H. 543 (= Jan.-Feb., A.D. 1149), he returned to Khurásán. A year later Husayn b. Ḥasan,¹ king of Ghúr, rose in arms to avenge his nephew (*birádar-sáda*), and was joined by 'Alí Chatrí. This disloyalty on the part of the latter caused Sinjar bitter vexation, for he had raised him from the post of court jester (از درجه مسخرگی) to be his chamberlain, and had given him lands in fiefhold about Herát. The King of Ghúr, though supported by a large army of horse and foot, was defeated, and both he and 'Alí Chatrí fell into Sinjar's hands. 'Alí Chatrí met with condign punishment, for he was sawn in two under the royal standard, while the King of Ghúr was held captive. This victory had a great moral effect, for it was the first gained by Sinjar since the disaster which had befallen him at the hands of the heathen of Khatá.

Towards the end of A.H. 548 (= A.D. 1153-4) occurred the disastrous invasion of the fierce tribes of Ghuzz. These were Turkmáns whose pastures lay about Khatlán, a dependency of Balkh, and who paid yearly for their grazing rights 24,000 sheep for the King's kitchen into the hands of the

¹ The MS. has *Ḥasan b. Ḥusayn*, but I suppose that *Husayn Jahansú*, the son of 'Iszu'd-Dín Ḥasan, is meant.

steward of his household (*khodásálar*). The harshness and greed of this steward and his satellites led to disputes in which blood was shed, and Qumáj the *Isfahsálar*, governor of Balkh, wrote to Sinjar warning him of the growing power and insolence of the Ghuzz, and asking to be made Commissioner (*shahna*) over them, promising to reduce them to obedience and exact from them an increased yearly tribute of 30,000 sheep. This request was granted, but the Ghuzz paid no heed to Qumáj and drove him out of their lands. He and his son 'Alá'u'd-Dín *Mahku'l-Mashriq* ('the King of the East') accordingly set out on a punitive expedition against the Ghuzz, but were defeated, and the latter slain. Sinjar's nobles then persuaded him that such insolence could not be passed over, and that it behoved him to march against the Ghuzz in person. On learning this the Ghuzz were frightened and offered apologies for their conduct, and presents of 100,000 *dirhams* and 1,000 Turkish slaves as an atonement (f. 74^b). Sinjar wished to accept these offers, but unfortunately his nobles overruled him, and he was persuaded to attack the Ghuzz, who came out to meet him as suppliants, accompanied by their women and children, entreating his clemency and forgiveness, and offering seven maunds of silver from each household. Again the King was anxious to accept their proposals, but Amír Mu'ayyid-i-Buzurg, Yarinqush, and 'Umar-i-'Ajami seized his reins, crying out that having come so far it was useless to turn back. So battle was joined; and Sinjar's soldiers, who hated the Mu'ayyid, were half-hearted in the fight, while the Ghuzz, being desperate, fought furiously, and at length put Sinjar's army to utter rout (f. 75^a), and pursued them across the river, wherein many perished. Sinjar himself was taken prisoner and brought to Merv (which, since the time of Chaghri Beg, ranked as the Seljúc capital), and his captors looted the city for three days. On the first day they were busy carrying off gold, silver, and silk; on the second, brass, iron, and copper; and on the third, meaner stuffs—

.. افگندنی و حشو بالشها و نهالیهها و خم و خمره'

Then they tortured the unfortunate inhabitants to make them disclose hidden treasures, after which, reinforced by thrice their number of disbanded soldiers and other rogues, they pushed on to Nishápúr. There some resistance was made, and some of the invaders slain, in revenge for which so great a massacre was made that in the Chief Mosque "the slain could not be seen for the blood wherein they lay." The great Muṭarriz Mosque, which would hold 2,000 people, was set on fire (f. 75^b), and by the light of the conflagration they continued their work of destruction. They camped outside the city, but returned to it daily to kill, torture, plunder, and destroy. Several thousand persons were slain there in those days, and amongst those tortured to death were such eminent men as Shaykh Muḥammad Akkáf and Muḥammad b. Yaḥyá, concerning whom Kháqání says¹ :—

در دولت محمد مرسل نداشت کس
فاضلتر از محمد یحیی قباى خاک
آن کرد روز تهلكه دندان فدای سنگ
وین کرد روز قتل دهان را فدای خاک

and again, in another poem :—

خاقانیا بسوگت خراسان سیاه بوش، کایام فتنه گرد سوادش سباه بُرد
عیسی بحکم رنگری بر مصیبتش، نزدیک آفتاب لباس سیاه بُرد
جرخ از سر محمد یحیی ردا ربود، دهر از سر سعادت ساجر کلاه بُرد

¹ In a yet more celebrated *qasida* (of which the two first couplets are cited in the *Turikh-i-Guzida*) occurs another allusion by the same poet to this victim of the Ghuzz :—

آن مصر مملکت که تو دیدی خراب شد
و آن نیل مکرمت که شنیدی سراب شد
گردون سر محمد یحیی بباد داد
محنت رقیب ساجر مالک رقاب شد

See my edition of *Dawlatsháh*, p. 66.

The misery of Nishápúr did not cease with the departure of the Ghuzz: an internecine and fratricidal strife broke out amongst the inhabitants; famine followed in the wake of fire and slaughter, and those who had escaped the sword perished of starvation:—

و قومی علویان و سران غوغا شهرستان کهندز آبادان کرده بودند
و بر برجها منجنیقها نهاده بقیتی که از ضعفا مانده بودند بناه با
ایشان دادند و مؤیدای آبه شادیانج که سرای سلطان بود و سرای
أمرا و باره قدیم داشت آبادان کرد و آلاتی که در شهر از آجر
و جوب مانده بود باز آجا نقل کردند و بعد از دوسه [روز]
نیشابوری بدان مجموعی و آراستگی جنان شد که هیچ کس
محلّت خود باز نشناخت

Mu'izzí, remarks the author, might have had this sad desolation of Nishápúr in view when he wrote:—

آجا که بود آن دلستان با دوستان در بوستان
شد کوف و کرگس را مکان شد گرگت و روبه را وطن
بر جای رطل و جام می گوران نهادستند پی
بر جای ثقل و نای و نی آوای زاغست و زغن
زین سان که جرخ نیلگون کرد آن نهانهارا نگون
دیار کی گردن کنون گرد دیار یار من

Throughout all Khurásán the Ghuzz acted in the same way, except at Herát, which successfully held out against them. For two years Sinjar remained a captive in their hands, until it happened that they brought him to the gates of Balkh, where some of his old retainers, such as Mu'ayyidá-yi-Ába (مؤیدای آبه), escorted by certain Amírs of the Ghuzz, namely Qurqurd (قرقرد)¹ and Tútí Beg, waited upon him;

¹ The numerous forms under which this name occurs are given by Houtsma on p. 281 of *Bundárá*.

and Mu'ayyidá succeeded in bribing some of the Ghuzz to help him to effect Sinjar's escape. Sinjar was taken out by these as though on a hunting expedition, but, once in the open, they pushed straight on to the Oxus opposite Tirmidh, where they already had boats waiting, and, evading pursuit, conveyed Sinjar to Merv, where he gradually collected an army. But grief at the ruin and desolation of his country brought on an illness of which he died in A.H. 551 (A.D. 1156). He was buried in the Dawlat-Khána which he had built at Merv.

Sinjar (f. 77*) was born at Sinjár in Asia Minor in A.H. 479 (= A.D. 1086-7: cf. *Bundárit*, p. 255, who gives Friday, Rajab 25, A.H. 471 = Feb. 1, A.D. 1079, as the date), lived 72 years and some months, and reigned 61 years, 20 years over his own appanage of Khurásán, and 41 years "over the world," i.e. the whole Seljúq empire. Two of his seals (توقيع) were seen on different documents, the one, dated A.H. 491 (A.D. 1098), conferring a pension on the Imám Shaybání; the other, dated A.H. 551 (A.D. 1156), sent to Baghdad in the year when it was besieged, wherein he nominated Muḥammad b. Maḥmúd his successor to the throne. A period of 60 years intervened between the issue of these two instruments.

The panegyric on Abu'l-Fath Kay-Khusraw, the author's Royal Patron, as usual concludes this section, but is longer than is customary, and comprises several *qaṣidas* by the author and others, including one composed by Sayyid Imám-i-Ashraf Dhu'sh-Shahádatayn al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynî in praise of Sinjar, but applied here to Kay-Khusraw; another by the same, beginning:—

هر نسیمی که بمن بوی خراسان آرد،

جون دم عیسی در کالبذم جان آرد

and another sent by the same Sayyid from Mecca to the Court, beginning:—

هرگز بود که باز ببینم لقای شاه،

شکرانه در دودیده کشم خاک پای شاه،

Other poems by the same follow, and then Anwarí's celebrated *qasida* (46 couplets) which begins :—

گردل و دست بحروكان باشد ' دل و دست خذايگان باشد '

After Anwarí (f. 82^a) had recited this *qasida* to Sinjar, he recited another (17 couplets) in honour of Sulaymán. More of Anwarí's poems are quoted, including the following improvisation, which he made on one occasion when, being rather the worse for liquor, he was called upon for a poem (f. 84^a):—

خسروا گوهر نئای ترا ' جز بالماس عقل نتوان شفت
گذدی از عقل داشت صحن دماغ ' جان بجاوب هیبت تو بُرفت
نطقم اندر حجاب عجز بماند ' خرم اندر خلاب شرم بخفت
حیرتم بر بدیهه خار نهاد ' تا بیاغ بدیهه گل شگفت
خون تو انصاف من بده چو منی ' چون توئی را ثنا تواند گفت

Several more poems by Anwarí follow, including the two following, which are of historic interest, as referring to Sinjar's wars with the kings of Khwárazm and Ghúr :—

اندیشه انتقام چون جزم کنیم ' وهن همه دشمنان بیک حزم کنیم
با جرخ جو با اتسز اگر رزم کنیم ' گردون بسم اسب جو خوارزم کنیم
وله ایضاً

آخر غم غور از دل ما دور شوند ' وین ماتم هجر دوستان سور شوند
لشکر کش گردون جو در آید بحمل ' فرمان ده گیتی بنشابور شوند

8. *Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad b. Malikshāh* (ff. 85^a–86^a).

His full name and title was *as-Sultān Muḥithu'd-Dunyá wa'd-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad b. Malikshāh Yamīnu Amīri'l-Mūminīn*. He lived 27 years, and reigned 14. His *tauqī* was اعصمت بالک. His prime ministers were

Rabíbu'd-Dawla, Abú Maṣṣúr al-Qirátí, Kamálu'd-Dín as-Sumayramí, Shamsu'l-Mulk 'Uthmán b. Nidhāmu'l-Mulk, Qiwāmu'd-Dín Abu'l-Qásim, and Núshírwán b. Khálid.¹ His chamberlains were Muḥammad b. 'Alí Bár, Ṭughán Yarak (بركت), and Arghán. He died on Shawwál 11, A.H. 525 (=Sept. 6, A.D. 1131). He mounted the throne on his father's death in A.H. 511 (=A.D. 1117-18). He was devoted to the chase, and to his dogs, cheetahs, and hawks. When, eight months after his accession, his uncle Sinjar came from Khurásán to 'Iráq, he fought him and was defeated (as narrated above, p. 850), but Sinjar treated him with kindness and consideration, and gave him 'Iráq as his appanage and his daughter Mah-Malik Khátún to wife, but she died shortly afterwards.² He quarrelled with the Caliph al-Mustarshid bi'lláh³ and besieged and took Baghdad, after which he was reconciled with the Caliph.

9. *Ṭughril b. Muḥammad b. Maliksháh* (ff. 87^a-88^a).

His full name and title was *as-Sultānu'l-Mu'adhdham Ruknu'd-Dunyá wa'd-Dín Abú Ṭalīb Ṭughril b. Muḥammad b. Maliksháh Yamīnu Amīri'l-Mūminīn*. He lived 25 years, and died in Muḥarram, A.H. 529 (=Oct.-Nov., A.D. 1134) at the gates of Hamadhán, after a reign of three years. On the death of his brother Maḥmúd he was made king of 'Iráq by his uncle Sinjar. He fought several battles in 'Iráq with his brother Mas'úd, with varying success. On one occasion he was routed and compelled to flee towards Khuzistán, and he hanged the minister Qiwám [ad-Dargazíní: cf. *Bundārī*, p. 169] at the gates of Lishtar (ليشتر), regarding him as the cause of his misfortunes. Here follows (f. 87^b) some account of the poet 'Imádí:—

¹ The author of the work which forms the basis of *Bundārī*. See Houtsma's *Preface*, pp. vi and x et seqq.

² Some very pretty verses on her death by 'Am'āq of Bukhárā are given by Dawlatsháh. See p. 65 of my edition.

³ Cf. my translation of the *Chahár Maqála*, pp. 37-38 of the separate reprint.



شنیدم که عمادی که از شاعران او بود بر عبادی قصیده
میخواند که
(شعر)

ره می رویم و دیده بره بر نمی رسد
کان می کنیم و تیشه بگوهر نمی رسد

عبادی بر سر منبر بود عمادی بدین بیت رسید که
بر آستان جاه تو جرخ ار نداد بوس
عذرش قبول کن که مگر بر نمی رسد

عبادی گفت امیر عمادی هر آرزو که دارند بخواهد، عمادی ملازم
قاضی را با خود داشت، گفت بهزار دینار سرخ قرض محبوبم
و موکل این است، وجوه قرض می باید، عبادی سرفرو برد، یکی
از مریدان گفت عبادی سر بر آور، گفت امیر عمادی جو هزار
دینار با قرض دهد فردا دیگر قرضش باید که بخورد، مریدی دیگر
گفت هزار دیگر ببود و عمادی بیآسود، مدح شاعر گویم یا همت
عالم یا ارادت مجلس، و این همه از افاضت عدل و نشر فضل
پادشاه و سلطان وقت باشد و تربیت علما، . . . و امیر عمادی
اگرچه بملک مازندران اختصاصی داشت و لقب او از عماد
الدوله فرامرز شاه مازندران مبنی است عظمت از شاعری
حضرت سلطان یافت و اول دیوانش مدح سلطان است، جند
شعر او آورده می شود . . .

Amongst the *qasidas* of 'Imádí here cited is one of 23
couplets, beginning:—

کار خرد ساختست کام هنر حاصل است
هیچ بهانه نماند شاه جهان طغریست

and another of 38 couplets, beginning:—

ای زلف و رخت سپهر و اختر ' وی روی و لب و بهشت و کوثر '.

Sultán Ṭughril founded a college at Hamadhán, where the author's friend 'Alá'u'd-Dín Majdu'l-Islám Maliku'l-'Ulamá Ustádhul-Mulúk wa's-Saláṭín was, when he wrote, still professor, though the endowments (اوقاف) had decreased greatly from maladministration.

The eulogy of the reigning King Abu'l-Faṭḥ Kay-Khusraw (ff. 90^a–93^b), which, as usual, concludes this section, is of considerable length. He is described as the conqueror of Fárs, Shíráz, Khurásán, and 'Iráq, and his liberality to the army is the object of a special encomium.—Self-devotion of the Amír Isfahsálár Mu'ayyid Fakhru'd-Dín Naṣíru'l-Islám Maliku'l-Umará Bahrámsáh-i-Ghází at the battle of Abkház (در مصافگاه ابخازی).—Qualities which an ambassador to an enemy should possess.—Some remarks on tactics (ff. 91^b–92^a).—The array of an army may be 'open' (گسسته) or 'closed' (پیوسته), and the former has three varieties, called راست, خفته, and مُثَلَّت.—Praise of Abu'l-Faṭḥ Kay-Khusraw's skill in war. Quatrain in his praise by the author:—

ای رای تو آفتاب وی کلک تو تیر '
 وی جون تو جوان ندیده این عالم پیر '
 دانی همه علمها مگر علم خدای '
 داری همه چیزها مگر عیب و نظیر '
 (وله ایضاً)

خسروا بنده را اجازت ده ' تا بگویم که دشمنت جون باز '
 سیخ در چشم و میخ در ناخن ' تیز در ریش و کیر در کون باز '.

10. *Mas'úd b. Muḥammad b. Maliksháh* (ff. 94^a-103^a).

His full name and title was *as-Sulṭán Ghiyáthu'd-Dunyá wa'd-Dín Abū'l-Faṭḥ Mas'úd b. Muḥammad b. Maliksháh Qasimu Amiri'l - Múminin*. His prime ministers were Sharafu'd-Dín Anúshirwán b. Khálid,¹ 'Imádu'd-Dín

¹ Author of the *History of the Seljuqs*, edited by Bunádrí; see Houtama's *Preface*, pp. xi et seqq. The following notice of his life occurs in the *'Uyánu'l-Akḥbár* (Cambridge MS. Add. 2,922, f. 126^a), under the year A.H. 532:—

وفيهما توفي أنوشروان بن خالد بن محمد القاشاني أبو نصر الوزير مولده بالرى سنة تسع وخمسين وأربعمائة تنقلت به الأحوال الى أن ولي وزارة السلطان محمود [بن محمد بن] ملكشاه سنة سبع عشرة وخمس مائة وقدم معه بغداد واستوطنها وكان يسكن بالحریم الظاهري في دار على شاطئ دجلة وعُزل عن الوزارة ثم أُعيد إليها ثم قبض عليه السلطان واعتقله ثم أفرج عنه واستوزره الامام المسترشد في أواخر سنة ست وعشرين وأقام مدبراً الى أن عُزل سنة ثمان وعشرين وأقام بمنزله في الحریم الظاهري مكروماً الى أن توفي في هذه السنة وكان من الصدور الافاضل موصوفاً بالجد والكرم مُحِبّاً لاهل العلم وكان قد احضر الى داره ابا القاسم بن الحصين لسمع اولاده منه مسند ابن حنبل بقرأة ابي محمد بن الخشاب واذن للناس عامة في الحضور لسماعه فحضره الجمع الغفير وسمعه خلق كثير ولابن جكينا الشاعر فيه امداح واهاجي فمن امداحه فيه قوله (شعر) سألوني من اعظم الناس قدراً ' قلت مولاهم أنوشروان ' و اذا ظهر التواضع فينا ' فهو من آية الرفيع الشأن ' ومتى لاحت النجوم على صفحة ماء فهن غير دواني ' وكتب اليه القاضي ناصح الدين الأرجاني يطلب منه خيمة فلم يكن عنده فبعث اليه صرة فيها خمس مائة دينار وقال آشتير خيمة ' فقال

Abu'l - Barakát ad - Dargajíní (الدركجینی or الدركزینی), Kamálu'd-Dín Muḥammad al-Kházin, 'Izzu'l-Mulk al-Burújirdí, Mu'ayyidu'd - Dín at - Ṭughrá'í, Táju'd - Dín ash-Shírází, and Shamsu'd-Dín Abú Najíb. His chamberlains were Amír Ḥájib Munkasir (?), Amír Ḥájib Tatár, Amír Ḥájib 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán, and Amír Ḥájib Khaṣṣ-beg. His *tauqí'* was اعتمادی علی الله. He lived 45 years, and reigned 18. He was very fond of animals, and devoted to the chase.

On the death of his brother (and immediate predecessor) Tughril I (in A.H. 527=A.D. 1133) in the Palace of 'Alá'u'd-Dawla in Hamadhán, the *amirs* summoned him in haste from Baghdad, and at the same time sent a message to Sultán Dá'úd, who was at Tabríz with the Atábek Qará Sunqur. Mas'úd, however, was first in the field, and though on passing Hulwán he found the roads deeply blocked with snow, he caused it to be trampled down by camels until he was able to make his way to Hamadhán. Having mounted the throne, he proclaimed Dá'úd his successor, and gave him his daughter Gawhar Khátún to wife. The Caliph al-Mustarshid came forth from Baghdad on Mas'úd's heels, marching on Kúhistán, 'Iráq, and Khurásán. Mas'úd, to whose support Sultán Dá'úd and Qará Sunqur had pledged themselves, came up with him at Dínawar. The Caliph, deserted by his *amirs*, who took to flight, fell into Mas'úd's hands, but was treated by him with consideration. Mas'úd then marched into Ádharbayján, and the Caliph al-Mustarshid

الارجانی (شعر) لله در ابی خالو رجلاً، احیا لنا الجود بعد ما
ذهبا، سألتك خيمة الود بها، فجاد لي ملي خيمة ذهباً، وكان هو
السبب في عمل مقامات الحريري وإياه عني الحريري في أول
مقاماته بقوله فإشار من اشارته حكّم وطاعته غنم، وكان انوشروان
يتشيع سامحه 'الله تعالى'

was assassinated at Marágha by the *Malághida*, or Assassins.¹ His son, ar-Ráshid, who succeeded to the Caliphate, marched forth from Baghdad at the head of a great host to avenge his father's murder, but, on learning that Mas'úd was advancing against him, withdrew to Isfahán, where, as also in 'Iráq and Kúhistán, famine was severe, so that men were in some cases driven by hunger to eat human flesh. Sa'du'd-Dawla, the governor of Isfahán, was at this juncture assassinated by the *Malághida*.

On the death of al-Ráshid at Isfahán, his uncle al-Muqtafí, the brother of al-Mustarshid, was made Caliph by Mas'úd, who then returned to Hamadhán. Bursuq, the lord of Lishtar, conspired with other *amirs* against Mas'úd, who, however, made a rapid night-march from Hamadhán, reached their camp at the time of the midday siesta, when they were all asleep, and established himself in their midst. His presence overawed the rebels, who came in one by one and made their submission to him, and received pardon (f. 96^a).

In the following winter Mas'úd returned to Baghdad and made Muḥammad *Khizána-dár* (or *al-Kházin*, 'the Treasurer') *wazir*. This was a man of violent temper, and arrogant towards the *amirs*, who wrote complaints of his conduct to the Atábek Qará Sunqur. The Atábek therefore hastened from Ádharbayján with Seljúq Sháh, passed by the A'lam district of Hamadhán, and alighted at a place called Murghzár-i-Sag (مرغزار سگ), whence he sent word to the Sultán (who had ordered him to proceed to Párs to instal his brother Seljúq Sháh as governor of that province), saying, "I will not fulfil this mission till my lord the King sends me the head and the right hand of Muḥammad *al-Kházin*." This demand, which was supported by the other *amirs*, the Sultán was unable to resist, and the head and hand of the unfortunate minister were accordingly cut off and sent to Qará Sunqur.

¹ This happened on Thursday, the 18th of Dhu'l-Qa'da, A.H. 529 (= Aug. 30, A.D. 1136), according to Bundári (p. 178), who adds that this assassination was instigated by Sinjar. Compare Anecdote viii of the *Chahár Maqala* (pp. 37-8) of the separate reprint of my translation.

Then Qará Sunqur set out for Párs, defeated Mankúbars, enthroned Seljúq Sháh, and made 'Izzu'l-Mulk, who was his *kad - khudá* or steward, *wasir*. As soon as he withdrew, however, Mankúbars returned, defeated and captured Seljúq Sháh, and imprisoned him in 'the White Castle' (قلعة سبيذ), where he died. Qará Sunqur, after being received with honour at Hamadhán, went to Ádharbayján, where he too was overtaken by death.

It was after the death of Qará Sunqur that Jáwalí (جاولی) the *jándár* became powerful. Sultán Mas'úd went from Hamadhán to Ray because Sinjar was angered against 'Abbás (the governor of Ray : see *Bundári*, pp. 191 et seqq.), and wished to punish him. But when (f. 97*) Sultán Mas'úd reached Ray, 'Abbás propitiated him with rich and costly presents, so that the Sultán left him unmolested and returned to Hamadhán and Isfahán. 'Abdu'r - Raḥmán the Chamberlain and the other *amirs* persuaded the Sultán to seize 'Izzu'l-Mulk and send him to Hamadhán, where he died. Then 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán summoned Búzába (بوزابه) and 'Abbás, with whom he was conspiring against the Sultán; and Búzába arrived at Isfahán bringing with him Malik Muḥammad and Maliksháh (the sons of Maḥmúd and nephews of Sultán Mas'úd). The Sultán, having no army with him, sent for ʿİlduguz (ايلدگوز), the most loyal and obedient of his servants, to join him from Ádharbayján, while he himself set out for Baghdad; but he had only gone three stages, as far as Kirmánsháhán, when Búzába reached Hamadhán. Being joined at Kirmánsháhán by ʿİlduguz and other *amirs* at the head of a large army, Sultán Mas'úd pushed on to Hulwán, where it was snowing in such wise as it seldom snows even in the coldest countries. He remained for four months at Baghdad, and then proceeded to Ádharbayján by way of the Pass of Qarábulí (دربند قرابلی), entrusting the princes Malik Arslán and Maliksháh b. Seljúq, who were in attendance on him, to Amír Mas'úd, the governor (*shahna*) of Baghdad, for safe custody in the Castle of Takrít. On his arrival at Marágha he was waited

on by Jáwalí and the *amirs* of Ádharbayján, who accompanied him to Miyána (f. 97^b). These *amirs* conspired against the King's favourite, Khásse-beg Beg Arslán b. Balankarí, but a wonderful exhibition of skill in horsemanship on his part turned Jáwalí from his design. Thence they proceeded to Zanján.

'Abbás, accompanied by Malik Sulaymán, marched with a large army from A'lam (near Hamadhán) to Anbat (انبط), where he effected a junction with Búzába, with whom were Malik Muhammad and Malik Sháh, the sons of the late Sultán Maḥmúd. The army of Sultán Mas'úd were alarmed at the sight of this formidable host, but he himself, putting his trust in God, "accounted them as nobody" (ایشان را بکس نمی شمرد). While the battle was imminent, Malik Sulaymán withdrew towards Ray, and was followed by 'Abbás. These desertions alarmed Búzába (f. 98^a), who accordingly, on the following day, retired towards Isfahán with Malik Muhammad and Maliksháh. He was pursued by Amír Jáwalí, but succeeded in effecting his escape. Sultán Mas'úd marched from Anbat to Ray, where he encamped at the place called "Rustam's Stable" (*Akhur-i-Rustam*). 'Abbás fled to Ardahan (اردهن), while Malik Sulaymán came to meet the King and do obeisance to him, after which he accompanied him to Ray. Now the Chamberlain 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán and the other *amirs* were continually saying to the Sultán, "This Malik [Sulaymán] is thy brother, and the King's brother is ever the King's enemy"; until at length they persuaded him to confine Sulaymán to his own apartments. 'Abbás came from Ardahan, whither he had fled, to pay homage to the King.

Jáwalí, on his return from the pursuit of Búzába, was promised the guardianship (اتابگی) of Maliksháh, the King's son by 'Arab Khátún, whom they accordingly brought from the Castle of Ferzín (فرزین), whither Malik Sulaymán was now sent. The King and his nobles then returned to Hamadhán, while Jáwalí departed into Ádharbayján, but when he reached Zanján (زنجان) he desired to be bled, after which he would

shoot an arrow, and the strain of this effort burst open the vein so that he died of hæmorrhage (f. 98^b). After his death the King conferred the guardianship of his son, thus rendered vacant, on the Amír 'Abdu'r-Rahmán, together with the governments of Ganja and Arrán. 'Abdu'r-Rahmán, however, despatched his ward the Prince (Maliksháh) with some of his nobles to Arrán, and himself remained at Court, where he was continually saying to Sultán Mas'úd, "Búzába is a deserving servant, and must not be allowed to contract a distaste for your service: suffer me, then, to go and bring him to you." At length he received permission, and set out for Párs to bring back Búzába, while Sultán Mas'úd came to Hamadhán and thence to Jarbádhaqán, where he received the homage of Búzába and 'Abdu'r-Rahmán, who remained drinking and feasting with him for two or three days. After this Búzába and Malik[sháh] came to Hamadhán by way of Kábila (كابل), while the King travelled thither by another route, and on his arrival gave his daughter Gawhar Khátún, who had been married to Malik Dá'úd, in marriage to [his nephew] Malik Muḥammad, whom he nominated his successor to the crown. With the acquiescence of his chamberlain 'Abdu'r-Rahmán he then made Búzába his chamberlain and the guardian (*atábek*) of Malik Muḥammad, and conferred on him a robe of honour. Búzába made 'Abbás deputy-chamberlain, that he might remain at Court, and made Táju'd-Dín of Párs *vazír*. The latter set out for Párs with Malik Muḥammad, and 'Abdu'r-Rahmán departed to Ganja and Arrán, taking with him Shamsu'd-Dín Atábek Īlduguz, Kháṣṣ-beg, and Bahá'u'd-Dín Qaysar, whom, because he mistrusted them, he was unwilling to leave behind him at Court (f. 99^a); while the Sultán, attended by 'Abbás and Táju'd-Dín, went to Baghdad.

Now the three *amírs* who had accompanied 'Abdu'r-Rahmán had heard the King say, "When we get the opportunity, we will not leave alive the enemies of the kingdom," and they were well aware of the schemes harboured by 'Abdu'r-Rahmán and Búzába, so, when they were a little beyond Ganja, they slew the former, and Kháṣṣ-beg assumed the

guardianship of the Prince. When the news of this murder reached Baghdad, the Sultán dismissed Fakhru'd-Dín, the son of 'Abdu'r-Rahmán, from his post of governor (*shahna*) of that city, but did not otherwise harm him. 'Abbás, with the connivance of the Caliph al-Muqtadí, had formed a design to seize the King when he should come to public prayer on the occasion of the 'Íd or Festival; but on that day, as it chanced, the rain was so heavy that it was impossible to go out of doors, and thus did God protect and preserve Sultán Mas'úd from their schemes. A week later, when 'Abbás was preparing for flight, he was arrested, brought to the palace and beheaded, and his body cast over the garden walls on to the shore of the Tigris; and this happened just one month after the violent death of his fellow-conspirator, 'Abdu'r-Rahmán. The King then dismissed Táju'd-Dín and sent him to Párs with a message to Búzába, saying, "You see what hath befallen your confederates: if you would like to join them, *Bismi'lláh!*"

Then the King made Mu'ayyidu'd-Dín Tughrá'í prime minister. This was an accomplished as well as a virtuous man, and one day of audience he recited before the King a fine Arabic *qaṣida* of 80 couplets (20 given here) which he had composed, beginning:—

نظری الى لمع الومیض حنین ' وتنفسی لصبا الاصل انین '
ما کنت اعلم قبل نازلة الحمی ' ان الحبايل والشهام عیون '

"In those days," says the author (f. 100*), "ministers composed such verses as they cannot now even read or recite correctly"; and he adds:—

کار خواجگی باعوانی افتاد هرکه وجوه انگیرترو درویش آویزتر
و خون ریزتر وزیر میشود '

When Táju'd-Dín reached Párs and communicated the news to Búzába, the latter collected an army and brought Malik Muḥammad and Maliksháh to Isfahán, where the governor Ghalabak (غلبك, *Bundart*, pp. 193, 202) waited

upon him. Búzába then proclaimed Malik Muḥammad king, and caused the five blasts of trumpets to be sounded in his honour (بیج نوبت برد). Sultán Mas'úd, on learning this, hastened to Hamadhán from Baghdad with the small army which he had at hand, and thence sent messages to Khaṣṣ-beg bidding him hasten to his support with reinforcements from Arrán, and to the Atábek ʿİlduguz and the Amír Shírgír (brother of Arslán ʿĀba) to assemble the army of ʿAdharbayján. Fortunately for the King, Búzába loitered on his march from Isfahán, and when he reached Gúráb the armies of Arrán and ʿAdharbayján had already arrived at Hamadhán, and, by the King's directions, were encamped in the Maydán-i-Díh-i-Piyáz (بمیدان دیه بیاز), whence next day they marched to Murghzár-i-Qarátagin, where Búzába came to meet them at the village of Kihrán. A fierce fight ensued, which ended in the defeat of Búzába and his capture at the hands of a black named Rustam, formerly one of his servants, but at this time in the service of Ḥasan the *jándár* (f. 101*). The King gave his sword into the hands of Khaṣṣ-beg, who hewed Búzába in twain; and his head was sent to Baghdad and there set up over the palace of the Caliph al-Muqtafi. Malik Muḥammad and Maliksháh returned to Párs and the King to Hamadhán, to the *Kúshk-i-kuhan* or "Old Summer-house." This happened in A.H. 541 (= A.D. 1146-7).

The King spent that winter at Sáwa, whence he went to ʿAdharbayján, and so returned, towards the end of the summer, to Hamadhán. In the year A.H. 543, in the month of Sha'bán (= December, A.D. 1148), when winter was at hand, he set out for Baghdad, but first, against the advice of Khaṣṣ-beg, waited on his uncle (Sinjar) at Ray, where the two rulers remained eighteen days ere they separated, the one to Baghdad, the other to Khurásán.¹ In Šafar, A.H. 544 (= June-July, A.D. 1149), Sultán Mas'úd returned from Baghdad to Hamadhán.—Malik Muḥammad b. Maḥmúd,

¹ From this point onwards my abstract of the MS. (on which this article is based) is less full, as I was pressed for time, and feared that I might not be able to finish it before leaving Paris.

the King's nephew, and his wife Gawhar Khátún, the King's daughter.—Marágha (f. 102^a) is besieged and taken, and the walls rased to the ground, in A.H. 545 (= A.D. 1150-1).—Quarrel between Kháṣṣ-beg and the Atábek Sultán Ába.—In Jumáda II, A.H. 547 (= September, A.D. 1152), Sultán Mas'úd sickened, and Bu'l-Barakát, the physician, was summoned from Baghdad to consult with the King's other medical advisers; but to no purpose, for a week later, on the eve of Rajab 1 of the same year (= Oct. 13, A.D. 1152), he died, and the same night his body was conveyed to Hamadhán and there buried in the *Madrassa*, or College, of Sarbarzih (پمدرسه سربرزه : cf. *Bundári*, p. 227, ll. 15-16). An elegy on his death (*marthiya*), in the form of a *tarji'-band* of 35 couplets, by Sayyid-i-Ashraf, is here inserted (f. 103^a). It begins:—

شاه جهان گذشته و ما همچنين خموش
کو صد هزار نعره و کو صد هزار جوش

11. *Maliksháh b. Maḥmúd b. Muḥammad* (ff. 103^b–106^b).

His full name and title was *as-Sultán Mughithu'd-Dunyá wa'd-Dín Maliksháh b. Maḥmúd b. Muḥammad Yamínu Amiri'l-Múminín*. He was fond of wine and devoted to the chase. His *tauqí'*, or motto, was استعنت بالله. His prime minister was Shamsu'd-Dín Abú'n-Najíb. His chamberlain was Kháṣṣ-beg. He lived 32 years and 2 months, and reigned four months after the death of [his uncle] Sultán Mas'úd, and once previously to that event for sixteen days at Isfahán (see pp. 867-8 *supra*). He succeeded to the throne in Rajab, A.H. 547 (= October, A.D. 1152), on the death of Mas'úd, his uncle; and was deposed in Shawwál of the same year (= January, A.D. 1153). His deposition was brought about by his dissolute habits and fondness for low company, especially by his infatuation for a woman

named Jamál. Here is cited (f. 105) a *qaṣida* of 36 couplets composed in his praise by Sayyid-i-Ashraf.

Kháṣṣ-beg was the prime mover in the King's deposition, for, being suspicious of his master's intentions, "he breakfasted off him ere he could sup"—

خاصبک بیش از آنکه او شام خوردی برو چاشت خورد

So he agreed with Ḥasan the *jándár* that the King should be invited by the latter to his house, where, on his arrival, he was detained with the woman Jamál and three or four attendants, while messengers were despatched to fetch his brother Muḥammad from Khuzistán. On his arrival this Prince was crowned in the summer-house (كوشك) of Hamadhán, where the deposed ruler was kept a prisoner for fifteen days, when he succeeded in letting himself down over the walls by means of a rope and effecting his escape to Khúzistán,¹ where he remained during his brother's reign, supplied with money and news by his sister Gawhar-nasab. He made an attempt to recover the crown from his brother, but his troops were defeated and dispersed by the Atábek Ayáz. Later, when his brother Muḥammad died and his uncle Sulaymán Sháh was crowned at Hamadhán, he hurried to Iṣfahán and proclaimed himself king, but died fifteen days later without having effected anything.

12. *Muḥammad b. Maḥmúd b. Muḥammad* (ff. 107^a–111^a).

His full name and title was *as-Sultán Ghiyáthu'd-Dunyá wa'd-Dín Abú Shujá' Muḥammad b. Maḥmúd b. Muḥammad b. Maliksháh Qasimu Amiri'l-Múminín*. His ministers were Jalálu'd-Dín Abú'l-Faḍl and Shamsu'd-Dín Abú'n-Najíb. His chamberlains were ʿIlfaqshat b. Qaymáz (ایلغقشت بن تیماز) and Náṣiru'd-Dín Atábek Ayáz. He lived 32 years, reigned 7, and ascended the throne in A.H. 548 (= A.D. 1153). He appointed his brother Maliksháh, the deposed king, governor

¹ Cf. *Bundārī*, pp. 228–9.

of Hamadhán, and the chamberlain Jamálu'd-Dín Īlfaqshat was sent, with the approval of Kháṣṣ-beg, to summon him thither from Khúzistán.

In Muḥarram, A.H. 548 (= April, A.D. 1153), Īnánj, Kháṣṣ-beg, and other nobles who had risen to power in the reign of Sultán Mas'úd (مسعودیان), were assembled at Murghzár-i-Qarátagín, together with Zangí the *jándár*, Shúmla,¹ and Šárim Muḥammad b. Yúnus (f. 108*), when suddenly the King caused the heads of Zangí and Kháṣṣ-beg to be cut off and cast amongst the crowd, after which their possessions were confiscated—

... و آنچه ودایع و دنايس و ذخاير بوز كه بسر آن نيفتاذند
خداى داند كه جند بوز

At the time of Sultán Mas'úd's death and Maliksháh's accession, Sulaymán Sháh, Mas'úd's brother, had been seized and imprisoned in the Castle of Farrazín, where he remained a captive for seven years (f. 108^b) in the custody of its warden (كوتوال), Amínu'd-Dín. Assisted by sundry nobles and *amirs* he escapes from captivity, and for some while contends with success against his nephew Sultán Muḥammad. The *amirs* mentioned include (ff. 108-109) the Atábek Īlduguz, the Atábek Arslán Āba, Alp-ghúsh (البغوش), nicknamed "*Kún-khar*," Fakhru'd-Dín Zangí, Mudhaffaru'd-Dín Alp Arghún, the son of Yaranqush the Falconer (يرنقش البازدار), Khwárazmsháh Yúsuf, Ḥasan the *jándár*, Rashíd the *jáma-dár*, and Yamínu'd-Dín the *Amir-i-bár* (master of the ceremonies). Sulaymán makes Fakhru'd-Dín of Káshán (cf. *Bundarí*, p. 232) his prime minister, and Khwárazmsháh (f. 109*) his chamberlain. — Shamsu'd-Dín Abu'n-Najíb, formerly the prime minister of Sultán Mas'úd. — Defeat and flight of Sulaymán Sháh, and success of Sultán Muḥammad. — Jamálu'd-Dín [Īl-]faqshat. — Jalálu'd-Dín [Abu'l-Faql] is replaced as prime minister by Shamsu'd-Dín Abu'n-Najíb. — In A.H. 550 (= A.D. 1155-6) Sulaymán Sháh

¹ Cf. *Bundarí*, p. 230, and n. 1 *ad calc.*

comes to Isfahán, but is refused admission by the governor Rashíd. — He then seeks aid from the Caliph at Muqtaff (whence he is nicknamed "*al-Maliku'l-mustajir*"), who eventually equips him for the fray. — Aq Sunqur Pírúzkúhí and Ynánj. — A battle is fought on the river Araxes between Sultán Muḥammad and Sulaymán Sháh, wherein the latter is defeated and falls back on Mawṣil (f. 110*). — In Dhu'l-Hijja, A.H. 554 (= Dec., A.D. 1159–Jan. 1160), the Khátún-i-Kirmání is brought to Hamadhán as Sultán Muḥammad's bride, but, though the city was decorated and illuminated (شهر آدین) for her arrival, he was too ill to approach her, and died in the same month.

In the panegyric on Abu'l-Fath Kay-Khusraw, which, as usual, concludes this chapter, is inserted a *qaṣida* of twenty-seven couplets by the author, beginning:—

باز صبا بر کشاد جهره گل ناگهان
خیل ریاحین رسد از طرف گن فغان

13. *Sulaymán Sháh b. Muḥammad* (ff. 112^b–114^a).

His full name and title was *as-Sultán Mu'izzu'd-Dunyá wa'd-Dín Abu'l-Háarith Sulaymán b. Muḥammad b. Maliksháh Qasimu Amiri'l-Múminin*. He was born in Rajab, A.H. 511 (= November, A.D. 1117), lived 45 years, and reigned a little over six months. His minister was Shihábu'd-Dín Thiqa, and his chamberlain Mudhaffaru'd-Dín Alp Arghún. — Náṣiru'd-Dín Áqish, 'Izzu'd-Dín Şitmáz, and the Atábek Ayáz. — On the 12th of Rabí' I, A.H. 555 (= March 22nd, A.D. 1160), Sulaymán Sháh reached Hamadhán (f. 113*), and a *qaṣida* (13 couplets given) was recited in his praise by Sayyid-i-Ashraf. — The Atábek Ylduguz was propitiated by his name being read in the *khutba* and inserted on the coins. — Sulaymán Sháh takes to solitary drinking (cf. *Bundart*, p. 232) and unsocial habits:—

جو با نیکان نشستن واگذاری
بذا کارا که تو بردست داری

In Ramaḍán, A.H. 555 (= September, A.D. 1160), he was deposed and cast into prison, where he died on the 12th of Rabí' II, A.H. 556 (= April 10th, A.D. 1161), the government having been usurped by Arslán and Īlduguz.

14. *Arslán b. Tughrił b. Muḥammad* (ff. 115^a–130).

His full name and title was *as-Sultán Ruknu'd-Dunyá wa'd-Dín Arslán b. Tughrił b. Muḥammad Qasimu Amiri'l-Múminin*. He lived 43 years, and reigned 15 years and 7 months. His *tauqí'*, or motto, was *اعتضدت بالله*. His ministers were Shihábu'd-Dín b. Thiqatu'd-Dín 'Abdu'l-'Azíz, Fakhru'd-Dín b. Mu'ínu'd-Dín, and Jalálu'd-Dín b. Qiwámu'd-Dín. His chamberlains were *Mudhaffaru'd-Dín* the Falconer (*bás-dár*), the Atábek Ayáz, and Nuṣratu'd-Dín Atábek Pahlawán.

Arslán was only one year old when his father Tughrił died, and was educated with his cousin Maliksháh b. Seljúq Sháh b. Muḥammad. In A.H. 540 (= A.D. 1145–6) he was confined by [his uncle] Sultán Mas'úd in the Castle of Takrít, under the custody of the Amír-i-Ḥájj Mas'úd Bilál, the governor (*wáli*) of Baghdad. On the death of Mas'úd another of his nephews, also called Maliksháh [b. Maḥmúd], succeeded to the throne and reigned for four months, when he in turn was succeeded by his brother Sultán Muḥammad b. Maḥmúd, the nephew, son-in-law, and chosen successor of Sultán Mas'úd (Shawwál, A.H. 547 = January, A.D. 1153).—Ḥusámu'd-Dín Alp-ghúsh as-Siláhi (f. 116^a) fights against the Caliph and dies.—Sunqur of Hamadhán comes to the Atábek Īlduguz.—Sultán Muḥammad dies, and is succeeded by Sulaymán Sháh (f. 116^b).—Khwája Shihábu'd-Dín Thiqa.—A.H. 545–6 (= A.D. 1150–1).—Amír 'Izzu'd-Dín Šitmáz.—Flight of Īnánj to Gurgán (f. 117^a).—Descriptive *mathnawí* poem, containing this *miṣrâ'* :—

علمهای سبید و خاج زرین

The Assassins or *Maláhidá* (f. 117^b) seized and fortified several strong positions near Qazwín, whence they were, however, dislodged by the Musalmáns (who ceased their internecine quarrels to combine against the common foe) in four months. Thereafter the Musalmáns kept a constant watch on these regions, and also laid siege to the Castle of Jahán-Kusháy, which had been built (by the Assassins) in the time of Sultán Mas'úd. This siege was, however, raised, owing to quarrels between the *amirs* in command of the besieging army; and the Assassins obtained possession of all the artillery and siege-engines abandoned before their stronghold.

On Sha'bán 19, A.H. 560 (= July 1, A.D. 1165), Zangí came from Párs to visit the King. On Dhu'l-Qáda 21 of the same year (= Sept. 29, A.D. 1165), the Amír Násiru'd-Dín Áqish died, and on Sunday, Muḥarram 14, A.H. 561 (= Nov. 20, A.D. 1165), the Amír 'Izzu'd-Dín Šitmáz. On Wednesday, Šafar 9, A.H. 561 (= Dec. 15, A.D. 1165), a violent tempest occurred, which overthrew minarets and other buildings at Sáwa.—The Bágh-i-Shúrbá (f. 118^b) in Ray.—Fakhru'd-Dín of Káshán.—Jahán Pahlawán.—On Wednesday the 4th of Jumáda I, A.H. 561 (= March 8, A.D. 1166), Ynánj took refuge with the King of Mázandarán. On Wednesday the 11th of the same month the Sultán left Ray.—Mudhaffaru'd-Dín Qizil Arslán.—Tihrán (f. 119^a).—Ynánj takes refuge with Khwárazmsháh.—A.H. 562 (= A.D. 1166-7).—Excesses of the army of Khwárazm at Abhar and Zanján, whence many children are carried off as slaves, and 2,000 camels.—A.H. 563 (= A.D. 1167-8).—Sáwa and Mazdaqán.—A.H. 564 (= A.D. 1168-9).—Kharraqán (f. 120^a).—A.H. 565 (f. 120^b).—A.H. 568-9 (= A.D. 1172-4).—Sickness in the army encamped by the Araxes, from which not one man in a hundred escapes.—They retire to Nakhjuwán (f. 121^a).—Áq Shahr founded by Abkhází.—Death of the King's mother.—Dhahíru'd-Dín Balkhí.—Death of the Amír Īlduguz (f. 121^b).—Šafi'u'd-Dín Iṣfahání appointed professor at the *madrassa* at Hamadhán, Jumáda I, A.H. 571 (= December, A.D. 1174).—Address (*khutba*) of Sití Fáṭima,

the sister of Amír Sayyid Fakhru'd-Dín 'Alá'u'd-Dawla.—The greatness and glory of Sultán Arslán.—His poets Mujír of Baylaqán and Athír of Akhsíkat.—*Qasída* (44 couplets), by the former, beginning:—

طارم زربین که درج دُر مکنون کرده اند
طاق ازرق بین که جفت گنج قارون کرده اند

Another *qasída* (f. 123^a) of 76 couplets, by the same poet, beginning:—

ای رخ تو رنگ نو بهار گرفته

Another (f. 124^a) of 49 couplets, by the same, beginning:—

باز صبحست که مشاطة جعد جمست

Another (f. 124^b) of 70 couplets, in reply to one by Sayyid-i-Ashraf, beginning:—

وقت آنست که مستان طرب از سر گیرند

Another (f. 126^b) of 41 couplets, in praise of the Atábek Pahlawán, beginning:—

دور بس خترم و موسم ز همه خوبترست

Another (f. 127^b) of 51 couplets, in praise of Qizil Arslán Shéid, beginning:—

دلی که تحفه تو جان مختصر سازد

Of Mujír our author seems to entertain a much higher opinion than of Athír-i-Akhsíkatí, of whose *qasidas* (or rather a *tarkib-band* of 77 couplets and 8 *bands* or refrains) he cites only one, beginning:—

ای کمین گاه فلک ابروی تو ' آب روی آفتاب از روی تو

Athír would seem to have charged Mujír with plagiarism, for at the end of the last *qasída* by the latter (f. 129^a) our author says: "Shame on Athír-i-Akhsíkatí that against this *qasída* he spoke thus":—

از برای خدای خواجه 'مجیر' کاروانهای شعر من چه زنی

15. *Tughril b. Arslán* (ff. 131^b–155^b).

His full name and title was *as-Sultán Ruknu'd-Dunyá wa'd-Dín Kahfú'l-Islám wa'l-Muslimín Abú Tálíb Tughril b. Arslán Qasimu Amiri'l-Múminín*. His *tauqí* was اعتضد بالله وحده. His ministers were Jalálu'd-Dín, Kamálu'd-Dín Zanjání, Šadru'd-Dín Marághí, 'Azízu'd-Dín Mustawfí, Mu'ínu'd-Dín Káshí, and Fakhru'd-Dín b. Šafíyyu'd-Dín Warámíní. His chamberlains were *al-Hájibu'l-Kháṣṣ* Amír Qaráguz *as-Sultání* and *Maliku'l-Umará* Jamálu'd-Dín Áyi Ába al-A'dhamu'l-Atábakí.

The prosperity and success of the first ten years of his reign were due to the wise counsels of the Atábek Muḥammad b. Ýlduguz, whose name is given with the following high-sounding titles (f. 132^o):—

ملك معظم اتابك اعظم خاقان عجم شمس الدنيا والدين نصره
الاسلام والمسلمين ابو جعفر محمد بن ايلدكزر رحمه الله

To him it was due that:—

ز سالار ختن تا خسرو زنگ همه برباد سلطان باذه در چنگ

The Sultán had some skill in verse-making, and many of his verses are popular and often cited, for example the following:—

آن کس که جهان بپشت پائی میزد، دوش آمده بُد در گدائی میزد،
از وقت نماز شام تا گاهِ سحر، صد نعره برای آشنائی میزد،

Also the following, which he composed, wrote out in gold, and sent to the Atábek Mudhaffaru'd-Dín Qizil Arslán, to express his gratitude for a robe conferred upon him by the latter, in A.H. 585 (= A.D. 1189):—

شاهان جهان و خسروان بنده من،
در مشرق و مغرب همگان بنده من،

با این همه ملک و بادشاهی که مراست^۱

من بنده تو همه جهان بنده من

‘Irāq (f. 133^b) suffers from devastation, massacre, and plunder.—Books stolen from public libraries.—In A.H. 581 (= A.D. 1185–6) Ṣalāḥu’d-Dīn (Saladin) came to Mawṣil¹ to ask the Atābek’s permission to wage a war of extermination against the Assassins, and to reduce the castles which they held near Qazwīn, Bīṣṭām, and Dāmghān.—Sharafu’d-Dīn Alp-Arghūn.—Verses by Jamālu’d-Dīn of Khujand (f. 134^b).

شاه فلک از دولت تو می نازد^۲ و ایام رضای طبع تو اندازد^۳
در ششدره بمانده سخت و لیک^۴ آخر توبری که خصم بد می باز^۵

Curses are invoked on “the King of Mázandarán and all Ráfiḏīs.”—Mention of Russians (آواز آبه و روس).—Fakhru’d-Dīn ‘Alá’u’d-Dawla ‘Arabsháh (f. 136^a).—Najmu’d-Dīn Lájín.—فقشیدیان.—The Sultán composes the following quatrain (f. 137^a) on a victory which he has won:—

این فتنه که دست جرخ انگيخته بود^۶ جانم بیکی موی در آيخته بود^۷
اقبال مرا دست گرفت ار نه فلک^۸ بی هیچ بهانه خون من ریخته بود^۹

Sirāju’d-Dīn Qutlugh (f. 137^b).—‘Alá’u’d-Dawla is bowstrung by the King’s orders two stages out of Hamadhán.—*Tarkīb-band* of 30 couplets by the author, lamenting his death.—The author (f. 140^b) speaks of his maternal uncle Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alí ar-Ráwandí, who was the King’s tutor, and whom he calls:—

امام کبیر زین الدین مجد الاسلام ملک العلماء محمود بن محمد
بن علی الراوندی^{۱۰}

A Qur’án, beautifully written in the King’s own hand, is given as a present to the King of Mázandarán.—Verses

¹ It was in this year that, according to Stanley Lane-Poole (*Muḥammadan Dynasties*, p. 75), “he reduced Mōṣil and made the various princes of Mesopotamia his vassals.”

describing that country are cited from the *Sháhnáma*, which the author calls "the Book of Kings, which is the King of Books":—

شاهنامه که شاه نامها و سردفتر کتابهاست

The author in retirement (f. 141^b).—Fakhru'd-Dín Qutlugh Qaráquzî attempts to depose the King, and set up his first cousin once removed, Sinjar b. Sulaymán (f. 142^b).—Fakhru'd-Dín Qutlugh falls into the King's hands and is sawn in two (f. 143^a).—Khawája Mu'in[u'd-Dín] of Káshán.

We now come to the invasion of Persia by (Tukush) Khwárazmsháh in A.H. 589 (= A.D. 1193), in which year (f. 143^b) he takes Tabarak. — طمغاج خوارزمی : میاجتی :
—Quatrain by a Khwárazmí poet (f. 144^a):—

ای پیش عزیزان تو خوارزمی خوار
وی خنجر بزان تو [خوار از می خوار]
زین پس نیارذ که ببیند در خواب
از جمله سمنان تو خوارزمی خوار

During the absence of the Sultán Majdu'd-Dín 'Alá'u'd-Dawla makes merry with one of his mistresses (معشوقگان), a singer named Zulaykhá (زلیخا و نام).—The author again (f. 144^b) makes mention of his uncle.—A.H. 590 (= A.D. 1194), the troops of Khwárazm in Mázandarán (f. 145^a). The author observes that the ingratitude of the Khwárazmsháhs towards the Seljúqs (to whom they originally owed their power and rank) dates from the time when Atsiz Khwárazmsháh sent to Sultán Sinjar the well-known quatrain:—

اگر باز پایست رخس ملک، کمیت مرا پای هم لنگ نیست
تو ایجا بیآیی من آجا روم، خدای جهان را جهان تنگ نیست

Khwárazmsháh at Samnán, 24 Jumáda II, A.H. 590 (= June 16, A.D. 1194).—The rashness of Sultán Tughril results in his being surrounded and killed by the troops of

Khwárazm. — The lamentations for his death are general amongst his subjects (f. 146^a): "Widows weep not so bitterly over their husbands," says the author, "as did the world over the King." An elegy on his death follows, ending with this rather fine verse:—

کوتاه کن از آنک وفات چنان کسی
هایل ترست از آنک کشش مرثیت کند¹

Khwárazmsháh now proceeded to overrun, plunder, and devastate the whole kingdom of 'Irâq. On Rajab 4, A.H. 590 (= June 25, A.D. 1194), he reached and occupied Hamadhán, the capital of the fallen dynasty, and gave it to Qarâqúz Atábakí, Isfahán to Qutlugh 'Inánj, and Ray to Malik Yúnus Khán. — In A.H. 591 (= A.D. 1195: f. 147^a) the 'Ráfîdís' (روافضه عليهم الآئنة), under the guidance of 'Izzu'd-Din Naqíb, cause some commotion. — خلجی تشطه نام شهنه. — Qutlugh 'Inánj draws a good augury from the text¹:—

الحمد لله الذى نجّانا من القوم الظالمين

He marches on Ray, encouraging his comrades with the verse:—

تأخّرتُ عن سبق الحيوة فلم أَجِدْ¹ لنفسي حيوةً مثل ما اتقدّما

The word يزكُ, 'post,' which I had supposed to have come into the language later, occurs on f. 148^a. — Qutlugh 'Inánj has his throat cut "like a sheep" by his false allies of Khwárazm. — His body and head are ransomed from his murderers by Fakhru'd-Dín Sarwar, and are sent for interment to Hamadhán. — Jumáda II, A.H. 592 (= May, A.D. 1196): عماد الدين طغلو: the Šadr of Khujand: the death of Mu'ayyidu'd-Dín a blessing to all good Muslims (f. 148^b). — Khwárazmsháh besieges Hamadhán and enters it on Monday, Sha'bán 19, A.H. 592 (= July 18, A.D. 1196). After its surrender, he treats the inhabitants well, and

¹ Qur'án, xxiii, 29.

inflicts a hundred stripes on the Amír Jamálu'd-Dín 'Alí, the nephew of 'Alí Bár, for violence and looting. The 'Iráqís are forbidden, under pain of death, to wear the Khwárazmí cap. Mujír of Baghdad comes as ambassador (f. 150^a). The well-known Arabic verses cited in the *Gulistán* of Sa'dí (ed. Platts, p. 38, Book i, Story 28) :—

أَعْلِمُهُ الرِّمَایَةَ كُلَّ یَوْمٍ ، فَلَمَّا آسَفْتُ سَاعِدَهُ رَمَانِیْ

are here quoted, showing that they were composed a good deal earlier than that work. — Khwárazmsháh (f. 150^b) returns to Khwárazm. — نورالدین ککجه. — ابو الهیج. — A.H. 593 (= A.D. 1197). — Mayájaq (میاجق) and the stratagem whereby he succeeded in killing many of the chiefs of the Assassins or *Maláhida* in Rajab, A.H. 593 (= May–June, A.D. 1197).

اتابك ابو بكر بهاء الدين سنباط و شیشقاپ و ناصر الدين اغوش (f. 152^a) و ککجه را بهمذان بخدمت ملک ازبک فرستاد . . .
(مصرع) چو دزدی با چراغ آید گزیده تر برد کالا

In Muharram, A.H. 594 (= Nov.–Dec., A.D. 1197), Malik Uzbek's wife, the King's daughter, bore him a son, who was named Tughril. — Mayájaq goes to Isfahán, Káshán, and Ráwand. The Ráfidís (f. 153^a) of Káshán (on whom the author invokes curses) urge the troops (of Khwárazm) to commit greater excesses and depredations. The author launches out into the following diatribe against these 'heretics' :—

هفتاد و دو فرقه طوائف اسلام هیچرا ملحد نشاید خواند و لعنت
نشاید کرد الا رافضی را که ایشان اهل قبله ما نیستند و اجتهاد
مجتهدان باطل دانند و نماز پنج گانه را با سه آورده اند و زکوة بر
داشته یعنی که ابو بکر صدیق دران غلو کرد و از اهل رده بشد

و بحج بطوس روند هزار مرد کاشی را حاجی خوانند که نه کعبه دید
و نه بغداد رسید بطوس رفته باشد و خبری از عایشه صدیقه رنی
الله عنها روایت کنند تا کس نکویذ که دروغ است که هرج
بزیارت طوس رسد بهفتاد حج مقبول باشد و دعاگوی را خویشی
بوز گفته است همچنانک مار کهن شود اژدرها گردن رافضی که
کهن شود ملحد و باطنی گردن و شرح فضایح و قبایح رافضیان
و خبیث عقیدت ایشان در کتابی مفرد آورده ام و شمس الدین
لاغری این بیتها خوش گفت (شعر)

خسروا هست جای باطنیان ' قسم و کاشان و آبه و طبرش
آب روی چهار یار بدار ' و اندرین چار جای زن آتش
پس فراهان بسوز و مصلحگاه ' تا چهارت ثواب گردن شش

Monday, 21st of Rabī' II, A.H. 594 (= March 2, A.D. 1198).—
ایضمش.—The Khwárazmí women clothe themselves in coats
of mail (f. 153^b).¹—Thursday, Rajab 19 (P A.H. 594=May 27,
A.D. 1198): titles (f. 161) conferred on Mayájaq by
Khwárazmsháh, who makes him his viceroy in 'Irâq.—
Dínawar (f. 155), Lishtar, and the Castle of Ardahan.—The
Assassins of Qazwín are plundered.—Khwárazmsháh incites
them to assassinate his *wasir* (whose body he afterwards hangs
head downwards on a gibbet) and some others.—Two months
later he himself dies.—منگلی و یواش و جغان و فلان و بهمان—
(f. 156).—*Qaṣida* of 31 couplets by the author in praise of
his patron, Abu'l-Faṭḥ Kay-Khusraw, beginning:—

¹ In the remainder of the MS. there appear to be several dislocations, but the lack of catchwords at the foot of each page makes it difficult to arrange the pages in order without a more careful scrutiny than the time at my disposal allowed me to make. The following arrangement seems, from my notes, to be approximately correct:—Ff. 153, 161, 165, 166 (*end of historical portion*); ff. 154, 162-165 (*on Wine*); ff. 157-160 and (P) 154* (*on Chess*). The remaining leaves (ff. 166-179) seem to be correctly arranged.

ای زمین را داشته تیمارها، داذه بر فضل تو جرخ اقرارها
ای بدست تو زمام امرها، وی برای تو نفاذ کارها

Here ends the historical portion of the work. The remainder of it treats of the Pastimes of Kings and the Accomplishments of Courtiers: and first amongst these of Wine and Wine-drinking (فصل فی الشراب).

16. On Wine and Wine-drinking.

On the nature and properties of wine.—The *Dhakhira-i-Khwārazmshāhi*¹ cited.—Abu'l-Hasan al-Karkhī and Hasan b. Ziyād's opinions (f. 154^b).—The following commentaries are referred to:—

شرح جامع الكبير، جامع الصغير، شرح طحاوی، مختصر کرخی
و مسعودی، شرحهای قدوری، موجز فرغانی، مختصر فرغانی

Wine is called *munassaf* (مُنَصَّف) when the liquor from which it was made is reduced to one-half of its original bulk, and *muthallath* (مُثَلَّث) when it is reduced to one-third (f. 162). What is and what is not an intoxicant (مُسَكِّر).—Praise of the *Wazīr* Shihābu'd-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Thiqatu'd-Dīn 'Abdu'l-'Azīz.—Apology for wine: that which is beneficial to the health cannot be wholly bad or unlawful.—A "*Book of Wine*" (کتاب شراب) in 50 chapters (f. 163).—Story of the stork and the snake at the court of Kay Qubādh.—Effects of wine tested on criminals.—لور و سمسوک ورزیدند.

صدرا آبی بطبع کافورم ده، مرد عذیب دختر انگورم ده
ز آن دختر قحبه نه که کلغونه کند، ز آن دیگر سرخ روی مستورم ده

Advantages of wine.—Ancient Greek sages cited.—Receipts for manufacturing various lawful wines (f. 165).

¹ A well-known medical encyclopædia, compiled by Zaynu'd-Dīn Abū Ibrāhīm Isma'īl al-Jurjānī († A.H. 531 = A.D. 1136-7) for his patron Quṭbu'd-Dīn Khwārazmshāh.

17. *On Chess and the different forms of the game.*

History of the introduction of Chess from India into Persia, where one new variety (باب) of the game was invented; and thence into the Byzantine Empire (روم), where two more varieties were evolved, making four in all. These four games are described with illustrations which sufficiently explain the arrangement of the pieces.

(a) *The original Indian game.*

This appears to be identical with the game now played in Europe with 32 pieces on a square board containing $8 \times 8 = 64$ squares. The pieces bear their usual Persian names: the 16 pawns (بیاده, *piyáda*) in the advanced line on each side; and in the hinder line on each side, from without inwards, the two castles (رخ, *rukḥ*); the two knights or 'horses' (فرس, *faras*, or اسب, *asp*); the two bishops or 'elephants' (فیل, *fil*, or پیل, *pil*); and in the middle the king (شاه, *sháh*) and the queen or 'minister' (فرزین, *farzín*).

(b) *The Persian variety, invented by Buzurjmihr.*

In this game the board is no longer square; it still contains 64 squares, but they are arranged in 4 rows of 16 each, as follows:—

R			P	P							P	P			R
Q	Kn.	B	P	P							P	P	B	Kn.	K
K	Kn.	B	P	P							P	P	B	Kn.	Q
R			P	P							P	P			R

P = Pawn.

R = Rook, or Castle.

Kn. = Knight, or 'Horse.'

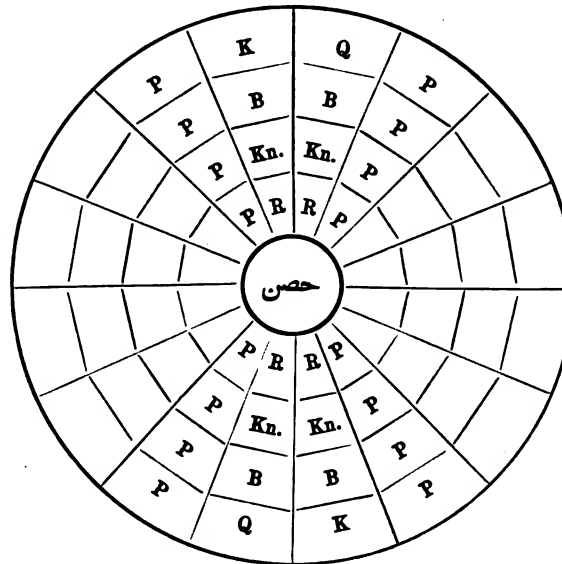
B = Bishop, or 'Elephant.'

K = King.

Q = Queen.

(c) *The first Byzantine variation.*

Here the board is circular, consisting of 5 concentric circles, of which the innermost is called 'the Citadel' (حصن, *ḥiṣn*), intersected between the circumferences of the innermost and the outermost circles by 16 radiating lines. It thus contains, besides the central 'Citadel,' $4 \times 16 = 64$ compartments or 'squares,' on which the pieces are thus arranged:—

(d) *The second Byzantine variation.*

This game is played with 40 pieces (the additional 8 consisting of 4 extra pawns and 4 new pieces called 'lions,' الأسد, *asad*) on a board of $12 \times 12 = 144$ squares, of which the outer rows are vacant at the beginning of the game, while the four corner squares are 'citadels' (حصن or حصن *ḥiṣn* or *ḥaṣṭn*).

The ancient game of Chess (f. 160) was originally invented in India by a wise man named *صبيہ بن باہر الہندی* (Śiṣṭha, or Saṣṭha, son of Bāhir, the Indian). The Caliph al-Ma'mūn (ninth century of our era) preferred draughts to chess, because in the former game he could, if vanquished, blame the dice and not himself; but the Sāsānian king Khusraw Parwīs (sixth and seventh centuries of our era) would only play chess.—Arabic verses on chess by Ibnu'r-Rūmī (A.D. 836-896).

♔	L	R	Kn.	B	K	Q	B	Kn.	R	L	♔
	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	
	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	P	
♚	L	R	Kn.	B	Q	K	B	Kn.	R	L	♚

L = 'Lion' (*asad*). ♔ = 'Citadel' (*ḥiṣṣa*).

At this point, as I think, should be placed a passage occurring on f. 154^a, wherein the author, after eulogizing his patron, Abu'l-Fath Kay-Khusraw, exhorts him to play chess, but not for stakes, "so that his prayers may not be nullified" by his indulgence in games which involve the use of the unlawful dice-box, like draughts:—

.. از شطرنج نشاط جوید و بوضیعت دعا گوی هرگز بگرو نیازد تا
قمار نشود و کراهیت شرع لازم نیاید و در آن کوشد تا بسبب
شطرنج نماز فوت نشود که آنگاه مفسدت بر مصلحت بجزید

18. *On Racing, Hunting, and Archery.*

Archery and riding are laudable, because useful, sports; but aimless sports are to be condemned. Wagers and bets, though generally objectionable, are allowable in certain cases (f. 166), which are discussed. The chase is next discussed (f. 167) in a separate section, and under what circumstances game slain therein may lawfully be eaten (ff. 167-8), as, for example, when the hound is loosed or urged on by a Magian (مغ). This section concludes with a *qaṣida* of 67 couplets by the author, beginning:—

دوش کز گنبد گیره سیما

19. *On Writing, Calligraphy, etc.* (ff. 169^a–172^b).

The *ruqūm-i-istifā*, or accountant's cyphers.—The *abjad* notation, and its employment to represent numbers as words, or words as numbers (e.g. محمد may be expressed by the numbers ز ' ز . ' ٨ ' ز .).—The abbreviated system employed by the accountants of 'Irāq and Khurāsān.—The letters *seriatim* from ا to ی, with a *memoria technica* in verse for each, and instructions (with illustrations) for writing each.

Six minor sections follow, thus entitled:—

فصل ' در باز نمودن مثال (f. 173^a)

فصل ' در نگاه داشتن نام و کیفیت و لقب (f. 173^a)

فصل ' در نگاه داشتن حساب جمل (f. 173^b)

فصل ' در دانستن عمل بجدول غالب و مغلوب (f. 174^a)

فصل ' ذکر بیغامبران و صحابه و خلفای راشدین (f. 174^b)

فصل ' ذکر سلاطین و أمراء

Conclusion (ff. 175^b–179^a).

The author renounces the intention expressed in the Preface of introducing at the end of his book a selection

of lewd poems (هزلیات), and instead inserts another long *qaṣida* composed by himself.—Account of a dream.—Dialect verse (f. 176^b):—

فهلویہ

من کہ بو سسته بی لو باره جانان ' جه هرکی لو بدنجان ها نگیرام

Another *qaṣida* of 29 couplets (ff. 178^b–179^a). Here follows the colophon, giving Ramadān, A.H. 635 (=April–May, A.D. 1238), as the date of transcription of the MS. The scribe's name is illegible except the words—“. . . b. 'Abdu'llāh . . . ,” from which at least it is clear that the MS. is not an autograph.

